

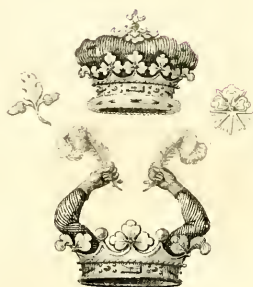


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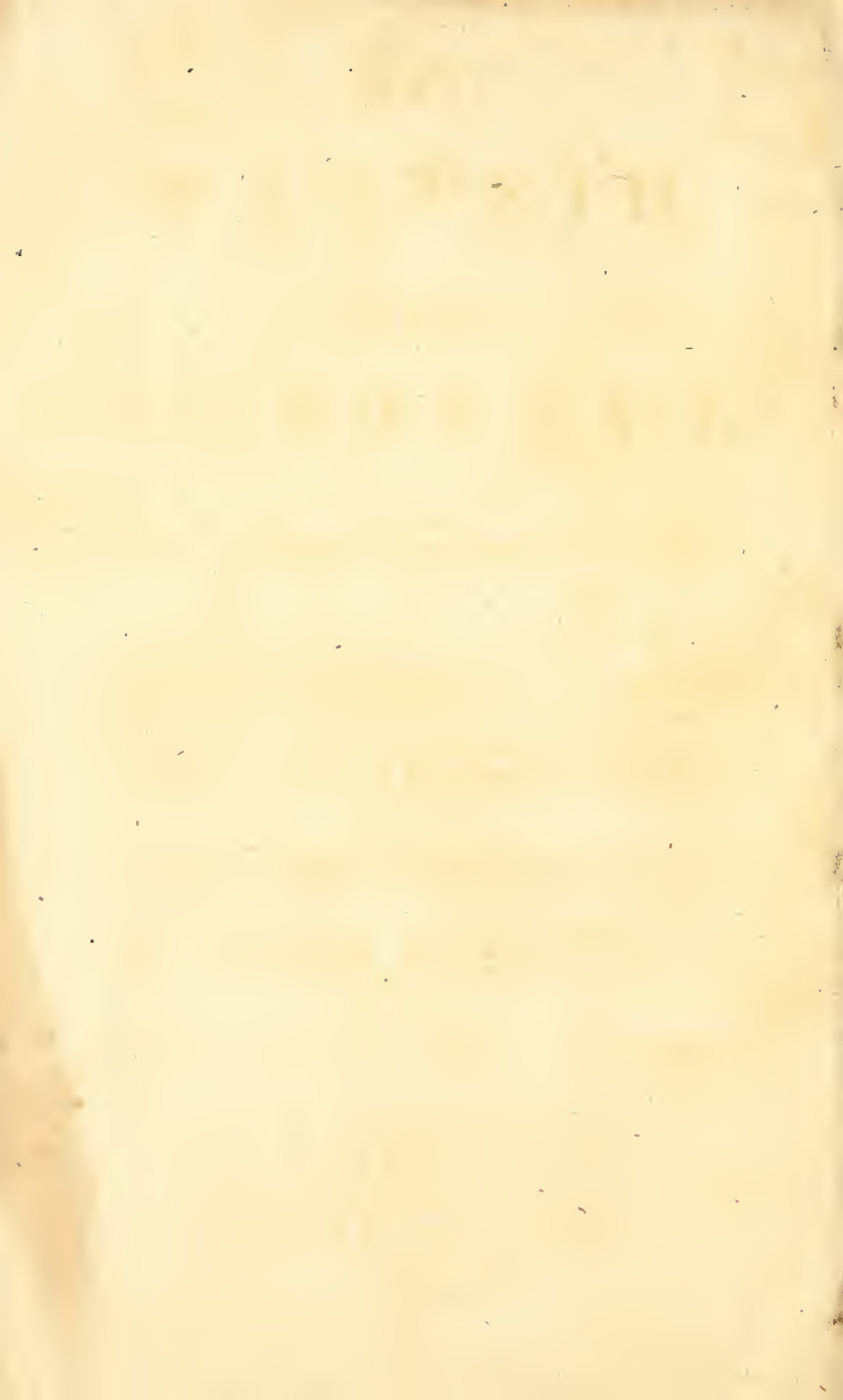
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
SARACENS.

By SIMON OCKLEY, B.D.
Vicar of *Swavesey* in *Cambridgeshire*, Professor
of *Arabick* in the University of *Cambridge*,
and Chaplain to the Right Hon. ROBERT
Earl of OXFORD and Earl MORTIMER.

VOLUME the SECOND.

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WITNESSETH

WITNESSETH

WITNESSETH

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JAMES,
Earl of *Caernarvan,*

THIS
SECOND VOLUME

OF THE


History of the SARACENS

Is most humbly Dedicated,

By His LORDSHIP'S

Most Obedient Humble Servant,

SIMON OCKLEY.



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T O

T H O M A S F R E K E

Of Hannington, Wilts, Esq;

S I R,

I PRESUME to present you with these few SENTENCES, at whose Request I Translated them out of the *Arabick* Manuscript. Your Approbation of them, prevents my saying any thing more to You concerning them.

Only give me leave to add this, That there are few Persons of your Generous Temper, who, as You are pleased to say, value the *Arabians* purely upon the score of their *Sincerity*, and their being entirely *in Earnest* both in their Words and Actions. Certainly they were very much so; and it were heartily to be wished, that we who despise them, could learn, at least in that respect, to follow their Example.

Give me leave, Sir, here to acknowledge my Obligation to You, for Your

VOL. II.	x 5	kind
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DEDICATION.

kind Assistance, in promoting my *Second Volume of the History of the Saracens*. You were pleased first to invite me to that Work; and the Publick will be indebted to You, at least, that it was done so soon, if not that it was ever done at all.

I know, Sir, you hate Flattery, as inconsistent with that Simplicity of Manners which You so justly admire in the *Arabians*; wherefore I add no more, lest You should mistake me.

I am, SIR,

Your most obliged,

humble Servant,

SIMON OCKLEY.

INTRODUCTION.

DESIGNING to communicate to the World Part at least of the hitherto very imperfect History of the vast Empire of the *Saracens*, which like a Deluge overwhelmed at once both the Eastern and Western Part of the World; we could think of no Method so proper as the having recourse to the most Authentick and Celebrated Authors of that Warlike Nation. Accordingly, about Nine Years ago we presented the World with Three Lives of the immediate Successors of *Mahomet*, collected with all the Diligence and Accuracy that the Opportunities indulged us at that time would admit: Which hearty Endeavour of ours to enlarge the borders of History, according to the best of our Ability, hath met with such Approbation from Persons of distinguished Taste and Learning both at Home and Abroad, that we were resolved not to omit the first Opportunity of proceeding in our Undertaking.

In our first Volume we have given an Account of the wonderful Success of the *Saracens* in the speedy Conquest of *Syria*, *Persia*, and *Ægypt*: The Particulars of the Sieges of *Damascus*, *Alexandria*, *Aleppo*, *Antioch*, *Jerusalem*, and several other Places of great Importance, as

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delivered by their own Authors : The Foundation of the Destruction of the *Grecian* Empire, and the Establishment of that of the *Saracens* under the Government of *Abubeker*, *Omar*, and *Othman*, the immediate Successors of *Mahomet*.

But the Reader will find himself deceived, as well as I was ; if he expects in this Second Volume such a particular Account, or, which is more remarkable, almost any at all, of their Foreign Conquests (unless the bare mentioning them may be reckoned as such) as is to be found in the First. When they first undertook the Conquest of the Universe every thing beyond their own Bounds was new to them, and their Atchievements were no less matter of Surprise to themselves than to their Neighbours ; but afterwards, when they were grown considerable enough to quarrel among themselves, and their Foreign Enemies were removed so far from the Center of the Government, that, let their Success prove which way it would, it was not likely to affect the Vitals of the Empire ; their Historians pass those distant Affairs over very transiently, and seldom descend to Particulars, unless there happens to be something very remarkable : Not but that there are in several of their Libraries particular Accounts, from whence a great many Circumstances might be gathered relating to what concerns *Africa*, and
entire

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entire Histories of the Conquest of *Spain* : For the Eastern Parts of the *Persian* Historians are the best.

Instead of such Accounts, we are here entertained with a quite different Scene of Affairs : Namely, those terrible shocking Divisions among themselves concerning the Succession of *Ali* and his Family ; the Abdication of his Son *Hasan*, and the Death of *Hosein*, which have laid such a Foundation of Discord between *Ali*'s Followers (amongst which are the *Persians* and several others) and the Traditionists (of which are the *Turks*, and whose Creed we have caused to be inserted) as is never to be reconciled so long as Mahometanism hath any Being upon the Face of the Earth ; though some of the *Turks* interpret that Fable of *Mahomet*'s having divided the Moon and holding one half of it in his Sleeve, which afterwards was joined again to the other, as prefiguring the Division of the Professors of *Mahometanism* (whose Standard is the New-Moon) into those two great Sects, and the Reunion of them after a certain Period of Years.

These Things, together with the Changing of their Government, which was left to them Elective by *Mahomet*, into Hereditary by *Moa-wiyah*, and the settling all things firmly in the Reigns of his Successors ; besides the extending

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their Dominions to such a prodigious Greatness, are the principal Contents of this present Volume, wherein we have added Fifty Years to our former History : So that though we have not yet arrived to the Conquest of *Spain*, nor the Learned Age of the *Arabians*, yet we are very near the former, and not far from the beginning of the latter ; having brought the *Saracen* Empire to an established Settlement, and written the History (inclusive of the Life of *Mahomet*) of Fourscore Years, in which the *Saracens* conquered very much more than the *Romans* did in Four Hundred.

I designed, when I first set about this Work, to take in the whole Series of the Affairs of the Christians during that Period ; but upon second Thoughts it appeared to me to be foreign to my Purpose ; for every one may satisfy himself, by reading this History, how regardless they were of any *Europæan* Powers : It is more than visible that they were wholly taken up in Domestic Quarrels ; so that such a Way of proceeding must have occasioned a great many Discourses to be intermixed through the whole, in order to reconcile the disagreeing Accounts of the *Greeks* and *Arabians*, both as to History and Chronology ; whereby the Series of the *Arabick* History must have been very frequently and very unseasonably interrupted. A Man might

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as well undertake to write the History of *France*, for the time, out of our News-Papers, as to give an Account of the *Arabians* from Christian Historians. Wherefore all that we promise is this; we fix our Chronology to a Day: The *Arabians*, (and it is their History we write, and no other) are the most likely to give the best Account of Things performed among themselves; and we leave to every one the Liberty of comparing it with any thing done or written in that Time.

Then as to the *Greeks*, whom we have seen sufficiently broken in the former Part of our History by the prevailing Arms of the Victorious *Saracens*, it was not in their Power to do any thing considerable. The *Saracens* had never a Deputy-Lieutenant or General that would not have thought it the greatest Affront, and such as ought to stigmatize him with indelible Disgrace, if he should have suffered himself to have been insulted by the united Forces of all *Europe*. And if any one asks, Why the *Greeks* did not exert themselves more in order to the Extirpation of these insolent Invaders; it is a sufficient Answer to any Person that is acquainted with the Characters of those Men, to say that *Amrou* kept his Residence at *Alexandria*, and *Moawiyah* at *Damascus*.

But what a great many Persons, otherwise of no contemptible Reading nor Abilities, won-

der at, is the vast difference between the Occurrences in our present History and those that are found in others. But whosoever considers the Briskness and Activity of the *Arabians* (the effect of the warmth of their Climate, Temperance, and constant Exercise) joined to their Enthusiasm, will find an easy Solution of those extravagant Actions that seem to distinguish them from the rest of Mankind.

For this Reason no one ought to wonder if I have accommodated my Style to the Humour of the People concerning whom I write. To write of a Nation in their Circumstances that were all Humourists, Bigots, and Enthusiasts, in such a Style as becomes the Sedateness and Gravity of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, would be very unsuitable and unnatural. In such a Case you put them in a Dress which they would no more thank you for, than a *Roman* Senator would for a long Periwig, or *Socrates* for a Pair of Silk Stockings. You rob them of all their Merit; those very Things upon the Account of which you laugh at them, they value themselves most upon; and it is most certain that the nearer you bring a Man that is singular to the rest of Mankind, the farther you remove him from himself, and destroy the very Being of his Singularity. This will, I hope, satisfy the Judicious Reader (and I am not over-sollicitous about the rest)

rest) that I have not deviated from that way of writing which was first established by the Ancients, and always admired and imitated by the wisest of the Moderns, not out of Choice but Necessity; otherwise I should have abused both the *Arabians* and my Readers: The *Arabians*, by putting them into a Disguise under a Pretence of dressing them; my Readers, by defrauding them of the Humour of that Enthusiastick Nation: So that the more I had affected to have copied any ancient Author, the greater Success I had been crowned with in my Imitation, the farther I must have receded from what the Nature of such a Work as this requires, which would have been an unpardonable Fault in an Historian. Wherefore I have let them tell their own Story their own way, and followed them so close that if they themselves were to arise from the dead, they should confess that, according to my poor Ability and small Skill in that copious and difficult Language, I had done them Justice. It is my Business to set the Matter in a clear Light, the Reader's to Judge. I have therefore abstained as much as possible from intermixing Reflections of my own, unless where there appeared a Necessity of illustrating something that might not be altogether so obvious to Persons unacquainted with Oriental Affairs.

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The Ancients, it is true, had an uniform Way of writing; they are content to express the Sense, but the Manner is still the same. In the History of *Alexander* the Great, or the second *Punic* War, an *Indian* or a *Carthaginian* speaks *Roman* Sense and Idiom. But it appears by the Pains that the Criticks have taken about that little piece of *Punick* in *Plautus* (which is most wretchedly corrupted) how glad they would have been to have seen a *Punick* Historian, who, though relating the same Facts, would have been almost as different from any thing we have as the *Old Testament* is from *Livy*. I have endeavoured not only to represent the Facts, but to trace the very Expression; to set the whole in such a strong and clear Light as it appeared to me in the Original; and in a word to infuse the *Arabick* Idiom into the Reader without his being at the Pains of studying it; and so much the rather because it favours so much of the ancient manner of Expression used in our Sacred Oracles; so that if it be sometimes a little to the Prejudice of the *English* Idiom, I hope it is an Error on the right hand, because I thought it better to omit what every understanding Reader could supply himself withal, than deprive him of what he could not. Whether or no we have in this particular been so happy as to fall in with the Reader's Judgment, to which

we

we do by no means pretend to prescribe, this we are assured of, that we have herein observed the *Golden Rule*, and dealt with our Reader as we would in such a Case be dealt with our selves, who should take it very ill to find all the Genius and Humour of a Nation pared away as superfluous, to make room for the Author's Politeness.

Then as to the Particulars. Some of them, I confess, seem very odd and ridiculous ; but the more they are so, the more they shew the People concerning whom we write. Besides, there is a vast deal of difference between being a Reader and a Spectator. Those Things amongst them that make us laugh now, would have made us tremble then. The Habit, the Manner, the Gravity, Sobriety, and Activity of that Conquering People, are not beneath the Observation of the greatest Genius. The Reason of our Laughter is the difference of their Manners, which is childish. For this Reason it is that Ignorants laugh at Scholars; Fools at Wise Men; Boys at old Ones ; Atheists and Debauchees at Persons of Virtue and Religion. However I do not deny but that I have here and there inserted a Relation wherein the Matter of Fact it self contains nothing very extraordinary; only I would not omit it, because, methinks, the Circumstances are so very expressive of the Humour and Genius of that Tragicomical People.

Who

Who would not rather have omitted the Circumstances of the Siege of a Town than the ⁴ manner of *Ali's* going to be inaugurated? The former a Man may conceive some Notion of by himself, but none of the latter without good Authority. A great many Cities have been taken with almost the same Circumstances, but I believe very few Emperors were ever proclaimed with such as these. A great many other little Incidents there are, very useful and entertaining in themselves that may be properly enough inserted in writing a Life, which would not so well come into an universal History, whose Course goes on like a vast River sometimes overflowing its Banks, sometimes keeping within its Bounds: Sometimes with a great impetuous Fall, sometimes with a smooth and almost imperceptible Motion: But in writing the Lives of Monarchs the Course is frequently interrupted, and several Things fall in relating to his particular Person; His Humour, Friends, Enemies, Passions, Affections, Dangers, Deliverances, Apothegms, and the like, not properly belonging to the History of the People: Such is the difference between *Suetonius* and *Livy*.

But to write after the manner of the most celebrated Universal Historians, all little Circumstances and trivial Discourses must be omit-

ted ; the Language must be all of the same thread, and the whole carried on in a strong eloquent flowing Stile ; and when the Subject calls for it, (as in any very extraordinary Case) proportionable Ornament must be added ; the Images magnified beyond the Life ; and embellished to that degree sometimes, that the Historian puts on the Orator before he is aware : Speeches must be made suitable to every Occasion according to the Abilities of the Author ; the Cadence must be smooth and easy, and the Periods full : Nothing must be inserted that falls beneath the Dignity of History ; otherwise it must of Necessity oftentimes happen, that a great deal of Nature is lost. The whole Composure must be Uniform, and managed as regularly as a well built Edifice : In short, every thing must be carried on with such a round turn that the Facts shall seem to be made on purpose to embellish the History, rather than the History for the Relation of the Facts : He that reads for Delight, and loves to be entertained with artificial Compositions, will chuse this way ; he that studies Nature will be better pleased with the other : That is one reason why Persons of the greatest Severity and exactest Judgment delight in Comedy, not only because it diverts them, but because it lets them into the Humour of Mankind, and paints it in all Conditions of Life

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as it really is. Now why an Historian, whose business is Truth, should, for the sake of Imitation, smother every thing that is Characteristick and distinguishing of the People concerning whom he writes, I cannot understand. Wherefore let *Livy* make Speeches for his People, and *Tacitus* invent Politicks, it is the Glory of our *Arabick* Historians to represent the naked Truth as handed down from their Ancestors in its native Simplicity. So that as much as we are exceeded by other Authors in their elaborate Expression, and the Strength and Artifice of their Composition, so much at least do we hope to exceed them in the unaffected Plainness and Sincerity of our Relation.

But I shall transgress my Bounds before I am aware of it. I forget that I am a Translator, and run the hazard of incurring the Displeasure of a polite sort of little Criticks, who will take it extremely amiss if People of our inferior Class shall presume to encroach upon their Prerogative, and dare in their Presence to pass a Judgment upon Style or Composition. We that study Languages (the Learned ones I mean, for the other are an Accomplishment) are always to consider our selves as nailed down to the lowest Form: And the least Proficiency that way is a shrew'd Indication of a Man's want of Sense, and favours rankly of Pedantry. Pedantry! that
Bane

Bane and Poison of good Manners and polite Conversation, infinitely preferable to all the Languages and Sciences in the World! And though it is not absolutely impossible in the Nature of the thing it self, and History may furnish us with some rare Instances wherein the Scholar and the Man of Sense have been united in the same Person; yet there are so many numerous Examples to the contrary, that since the Experience of a nice discerning Age hath adjudged such an application scandalous, a wise Man would take care (as in all other Criminal Cases, however he might be secretly inclined) to avoid the least Suspicion of it for the sake of his Reputation: But as for us, that have unhappily fallen into it, and preferred the Sound of Words to good Sense; we ought to acquiesce in our Choice, and sit down contented with our Lot: It is a Misery of our own choosing, and there is nothing left for our dearest Friends, but only to bewail us, since it is irrecoverably out of their Power to assist us. Let this be our Consolation, that we are capable of meriting the Protection of such Great Men, even at the Expence of any Servitude! We are the Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water to the Congregation of our Learned *Israel*! But though they use us like *Gibeonites*, yet we are in Reality *Israelites*, and can prove our Descent better than any of them
all:

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all: We are of the Tribe of *Iffachar*, *Asses couching down between Two Burthens*, viz. Of our own Studies and Labours on the one side, and an impertinent vexatious World on the other. It is our Business to crack the Shell, and their Privilege to eat the Kernel; And as great Architects only design or pass a Judgment upon a Building, and leave the Sawing, and Cutting of Stone, and removing the Rubbish, to inferior Mechanicks; so our great Masters imploy that servile Part of Mankind, whose Capacities qualify them for nothing else, in the Search of Languages.

As for their own Parts, they determine in all Cases by dint of Superior *Genius*; judge from the Nature of the Things themselves, without being imposed upon by the Sounds of Words, and leave those Two Crutches of Ancient and Modern Learning, to those poor Wretches who are not able to crawl along without them. The Absence of far fetched and dear bought Learning, is abundantly supplied in them by a Redundancy of Sense and Understanding: The due, or even undue Mixture, in their common Conversation of such Words as *Experience*, *Knowledge of Mankind*, *Understanding the World*, *Understanding THINGS not WORDS*: *Reading MEN instead of Reading BOOKS*, and above all, a *Taste*, sets them at once upon the Heads of all the Learned,

Learned, whether Ancient or Modern: And since I have mentioned a *Taste*, I remember in the Life of the famous *Father Paul* written by *Father Fulgentio*, who was intimately acquainted with his Conversation, he says that he had such an exquisite *Taste* that he could immediately distinguish all the Ingredients of a Sawce or a Medicine. But this the Father attributes to his singular Abstinence and the very rare Use of either. These Gentlemens *Taste* I take to be very much of the same Nature.

They were pleased to object against my First Volume (I hope they will prove something more merciful to this poor Second) that it was the strangest Story that ever they heard since they were born! They never met with such Folks in their Lives as these *Arabians*! That they never heard of this Account before, which certainly they must have done of course if any body else had! A Reverend Dignitary asked me, If when I wrote that Book I had not lately been reading the History of *Oliver Cromwell*! They say that the *Arabians* are given to Romance, and, I suppose, for that Reason not to be believed (according to *Aristotle*) when they speak true: And above all, that a History will never go down in this nice Age that contains only a Relation of Battels, but that the very Quintessence of a History consists in the *Politicks*.

Now

Now I must confess for my own part, that I am of such an indolent Disposition, that if I can but fairly get rid of this last grand Objection, I care not one Rush for all the rest. I confess that a History without Politicks comes into the World in very unfashionable Circumstances; especially in a Generation wherein, if Fortune had not envied our Merit, we should all have been Plenipotentiaries, Secretaries of State, or Privy-Counsellors! What affects me most is, that this Objection should be made by these Polite Gentlemen, whom every body would have supposed to have been so well skilled in Analyticks, as upon the first sight of any Action to have made an infallible Guess at the Springs of it. Besides, I should have run a Risque on the other side, for it is an insufferable Affront for an Author to leave nothing to his Intelligent Reader, but be always feeding him with a Spoon, and teaching him to read with a Fescue! Who would once have imagined but that it was the peculiar Talent of these Gentlemen, upon first sight of the Event to trace back the Springs of the Action; at least to have a near Guess in an Enthusiastick Tyrannical Government, supported by Persons entangled in Family Quarrels entailed upon them from Generation to Generation, and not extinguished, whatsoever they pretended, by their being united in the same Profession of

Mahometanism: From which Antecedent Divisions arose those terrible Convulsions in the State, that had it not been very well supported by their Aversion to Christianity on the one side, and to Idolatry on the other, they must of course have become a Prey to their common Enemies. Add to this, that those Persons who were indulged the greatest share of their Prophet's Favour when alive, were treated with proportionable Respect after his Decease: To that Degree that if any Person had been any way familiar with *Mahomet*, he was reckoned one of the *Companions*,³ though he was never so young, and there was such Respect paid to them as would have turned the Scale in almost any Debate; for they would go to a very great Extremity rather than the Authority of the *Companion of the Apostle* should have been rejected: I mean if that Authority had been urged on the prevailing Side; for notwithstanding their Allegiance to their Prince, it is evident they were no Bigots to indefeasible Right.

But if the not having heard of this History before be such a terrible Objection against it, what would the having heard of it before have been? I must confess that Objection lies strong

³ *Ziyâd* was of this Number: He was born in the Year of the *Hegirah*, and was but Eleven Years old when *Mahomet* died. See P. 156.

against the Veracity of it to Persons who would take it as an Affront to be supposed capable of being ignorant of such a Considerable part of History as this pretends to be, if we could once induce our Selves to believe that there could be any Truth in it. What I wonder most at is that those very Gentlemen who were formerly acquainted with the Rivers *Jaxartes* and *Oxus*, *Indus* and the *Ganges* better than with the *Thames* it self which they swam in every Holiday; that discoursed of *Asia* as if they had been Surveyors to *Alexander* the Great; that would have disputed every foot of Ancient Geography with no less eagerness than if it had been a Paternal Inheritance; and could pronounce concerning the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon* with no less Certainty than the Oracle it self; should on a sudden prove so indolent as not only to suffer those delicate Provinces to be ravished out of their Hands without so much as venturing a Suit at Law about them, but even express an ungrateful Displeasure against those who too officiously proffer their Service to restore them *Gratis*. However these Criticks are of the kinder sort, they neither mean nor do any great Hurt; they only make themselves a little Sport with those Things which they do not so well understand; and if they carry on the Humour upon that Foot, bid fair for the Reputation of the merriest Company

in the World. Great pity it is to spoil good Humour. But there is another sort of a more Pestilent and Malignant Nature, who magnifie the Memories of *Buxtorf*, *Bochart*, *Pocock* and all the rest of our Heroes in that kind of Learning that they ever heard of, with no less Hypocritical Insolence than the *Pharisees* in our Saviour's time repaired the Sepulchres of the Ancient Prophets, whilst they were equally distant from once endeavouring to copy after their Example, as they were from suffering those in their own Age to be at quiet that did. These I deliver up to the care of *Miguel de Luna* a *Spanish* Physician, who hath left them this Receipt: 3

Y a los detractores respondo que antes que comincien a Detraer tomen la pluma en la mano y hagan otro tanto, y con buena experiencia veran muy a la clara quanto mas facil es dezir mal q̄ escribir libros para aprovechar a los virtuosos que tienen Christianidad y buena Consciencia.

That is, *And I give this answer to the Detractors, that before they begin to detract let them take Pen in Hand and do so much more, and they will see very clearly by good Experience how much easier it is to speak ill than to write Books for the Service of those virtuous Persons who hold Christianity and a good Conscience.*

³ Prohemio de la Verdadera Historia Del Rey don Rodrigo: por Tarif Abentarique, Traduzido de la lengua Arabiga por Miguel de Luna. P. 3.

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Now since I have mentioned *Miguel de Luna*; I cannot help falling in with a Suspicion of ⁴ *Monfieur Chevreau's* concerning him, who is apt to think that he made that Book of the *Loss of Spain*, which he pretended to Translate out of *Arabick*. He says indeed that it is in the King of *Spain's* Library. There may be a Book written by *Tarif Abentarique* concerning the *Conquest of Spain*; but then I am as certain as it is possible for a Man to be in a case of that Nature, that *De Luna's* Book is no Translation of it. I have looked but little into it indeed, but every Page confirmed me in my Suspicion long before I saw *Chevreau's* Remark. He talks of *Caliphs* there which we do not find in our *Asiatick* Historians, and of sending for orders to them into *Arabia*, whereas their constant Residence was at *Damascus*; and never came near *Arabia* upon any occasion whatsoever so long as the House of *Ommiyah* reigned, unless when they went on Pilgrimage to *Meccah*. Beside, the Letters in that Book are such as were never written by any *Arabian* in this World: Every Line of them plainly speak them to be his own; and I can never be induced to think otherwise, unless I should be convinced to the contrary by some learned Person who had seen the Original, or had an Opportunity of perusing it my Self.

⁴ *Chevreau's* History of the World, Vol. 3. Book 6. Chap. 1.

It is plain from the 47th Page of our present History that when *Moawiyah* was resolved to stand it out in opposition to *Ali* he wrote a Letter to *Amrou* to come to his Assistance : such an Historian would not have scrupled to have made one for him, suppose as follows.

Moawiyah to Amrou.

*S*urely I am much mistaken in my Opinion of your Sense, Courage and Zeal for the Religion, if your private Retirement in Palestine should have so far chagrined or enervated you, as not still to retain the Memory of the past Sufferings of our Friends, or to remain unconcerned at their present Afflictions. The house of Hashem insults us ; Ali and his Party bid us Defiance. Though you indeed have no such particular Obligation to Othman, yet now there is a fair Opportunity of being revenged upon our Common Enemies. Ali hath the Irakians and some of the Arabian Tribes engaged in his Interest, but what are they compared to our Victorious Troops that have in so short a time broken the force of the Grecians, a Nation always exercised in War, not only against their Borderers, North and West, but against the Persians. Besides it is not to be doubted but some Expedient may be found out to sow such a Division amongst Ali's Partisans, as may turn to a very good Account ; for it is not now a Dispute

about Religion but Justice. We call for Vengeance for the Blood of Othman; enough will assist us under that Pretence, without having any regard to the Merits of our Controversy. The Perfidiouſness of the Chaldeans and Babylonians is ſo notoriously known, that even Ali himſelf were he to ſpeak out, would confeſs that they were much more likely to attend the Succeſs of any Perſon in whoſe Intereſt they pretended to engage, than to run any riſque in his Service. Beſides your own Egypt wants you; Egypt ſo gloriously wreſted out of the Hands of the Grecian Dog by your Victorious Arms. That ſhall be yours if we ſucceed; and if you give us your Aſſiſtance there is no apparent Reaſon to fear, if it pleaſe God.

Now ſuppoſe any one in my Place had taken this Method of writing Hiſtory, he could not have failed of Materials, provided he had Judgment enough to diſtinguiſh them, to have made whatſoever he had pleaſed of it, without once telling a poſitive Lye, or deviating from the real Truth of the Matter of Fact; unleſs this may be called ſo, to write a Letter that never was written, but which, if it had, would have been ſuitable to the Occaſion. Now I grant that the fineſt and niceſt of the Modern Judges, founding their Opinion upon the Practice of the moſt celebrated Ancients, do allow an Hiſtorian that

Liberty, provided it be done discreetly, to compose Speeches, and insert Prudent Admonitions, provided nothing be done against *Decorum*, nor prejudicial to the Truth of the History. Let us hear the Judgment of the inimitable *Fracastorius* speaking in the Person of *Naugerius*.

The other Gentleman in the Dialogue enquiring how much Ornament the Orator would allow to an Historian that stood in need of the Assistance of his Art, *Naugerius* answers, ' *That*
" since what he, [the Historian] proposes, is to
" write Matters of Fact for the prudent Conduct
" of Human Life ; it is sufficient to answer this
" End if he uses a proper, clean, grave, and just
" manner of speaking, which shall not always be
" destitute of its Harmony neither. He may be al-
" lowed sometimes to feign Speeches, and give
" Advice, in order to instill the more Wisdom ;
" which I have according to the best of my Ability
" attempted to perform in my Books of the History

' Quoniam igitur finis ejus est gesta scribere ad Prudentiam, quantum quidem ad hoc pertinet, sat illi factum erit si propria, si candida, si gravi, ac vera Oratione utatur ; cui interdum nec sua desit Musica. Licebit & interdum ut effingat conciones & nonnulla consilia ut Prudentiam majorem doceat ; quod nos quoque in nostris Historiarum libris de rebus Venetis, quantum in nobis fuit C. Cæsarem & Polybium gravem Authorem secuti præstare conati sumus, verum ita licebit ut gravitatis historiæ & veritatis nihil detraxerit, reliquas vero pulchritudines illi negabit. *Fracastorii Naugerius sive de Poetica*, p. 345.

“ of Venice, led by the Example of Cæsar and
 “ Polybius a grave Author. But he must only be
 “ permitted to do it so far as may be consistent
 “ with the Gravity of the History and the Truth;
 “ all other Ornaments he will deny him. But,

Nobis non licet esse tam disertis.

I have not indulged my self this allowed Liberty, though I could have screened my self under the Patronage of these great Authorities. How I have dealt by my Historians I must leave to the Determination of those Learned Persons who either are at present or hereafter shall be both able and willing to compare my Book with the Originals from whence it was taken. It is to you, Gentlemen, that I appeal, by whose Judgment I must stand or fall. Whilst some will have it a meer Translation, though there be as much Difference as there is between Wheat in the Ear and Bread upon the Table ; others, to be so much my own as hardly to have any Footstep in the Original ; you only can judge how far it is a Translation ; how far embellished : With what Judgment the Circumstances I have inserted were chosen, and those I have omitted left out : You can see where I went streight, and where I stumbled : Where I dashed my Foot against a Rock every step I set, and where I galloped pleasantly over the Plain : In a word, you are the only Judges of the difficulties I went through,

through, and the most competent ones of the Merits of the whole Performance. But before I take my leave it is necessary that I advertise you concerning some few things, both for the Justification of my self, and the saving you some trouble in your Examination. One Favour that I beg at your hands is, that you do not pass a Judgment upon my Book, till you have compared it with the very same Manuscripts that I made use of. Because though I hope there are not a great many Mistakes, yet there might possibly have been fewer, If I had either been furnished with better Copies, or two Copies of the same Book. You know what it is to read (or rather not to read) without the *Diacritical* Points, (which though you are sensible, every one else is not, are not the Vowels but little Pricks by which the Letters in the Alphabet are a great many of them distinguished one from the other) and how much a more difficult task we have with our Arabick in such a case than *Plutarch* had with his *Latin* which he understood only by the Sense. He knew the History or Subject before, and could not fail of the true Reading of the Words; we come destitute of both to our Manuscripts, and are almost forced to conjure both for Words and Meaning. Let us hear the Learned *Golius* his just Apology, that he makes for the Faults committed by the
Famous

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Famous *Erpenius* in his Translation of *Elmakin*. These are his Words, ³ “ *For though this Manuscript was written in Ægypt, yet the Negligence of the over-hasty Transcriber had most abominably deformed it; especially by leaving out the Orthographical Points. The Commission of which Fault, especially in Verse and proper Names, it can hardly be expressed how it puts every thing out of Joynt, and throws all into Confusion, so that He was obliged oftentimes to act the part of a Diviner before he could perform that of an Interpreter.*” These Difficulties arising from the Nature of the Language, joyned to a bad Hand and a single Copy, make things that would otherwise be plain insuperably obscure; and have oftentimes occasioned the Omision of Passages that would have been no inconsiderable Embellishment to our History.

Nor must it be dissembled, without the greatest Arrogance, that all the Blame is not to be laid upon the Copies. It would be the height of Impudence for a Man to say that the Reason

³ Nam licet Niloticus hunc Codicem Calamus exaraverit, nimium tamen festinantis incuria eundem pessime deformarat, crebrâ imprimis omissione Orthographicæ punctuationis: quod quidem vitium in metris præsertim & Propriis Nominibus commissum dici daud potest quam omnia luxet & incerta reddat: ita ut sæpenuerò vatem prius agere debuerit quam interpretem possit. *Golijs, Præfat. ad Erpenii Histor. Saracen. Arab. Lat. Fol.*

why he did not insert such or such a Passage, was because he did not judge it proper, when he must be conscious at the same time that the only true Reason was because he did not understand it. I do frankly confess that there are several things that I could have given a satisfactory Account of both to my self and the Reader, which I have omitted upon the account of two or three obscure Expressions. How it may fare with those Persons that have travelled the *East*, I am not so competent a Judge, though I have reason to think that even the best of them encounter their Difficulties: But this I dare answer for, that all that hath yet been communicated to us in *Europe* is not sufficient to furnish us with what we call a competent Skill in any other Language. What pity it was that the Importunity of those perverse Times that thought every Minute of Study lost that was not employed in their insipid way of Application to Theology, should rob us of so much of the Life of our great Doctor *Pocock*, who could have unlocked to us the Treasuries of the *East*! Whilst he, good Man! out of Compliance to a stupid Generation, was reading over and comparing tedious Commentators! How much more would his Oriental Learning, so far as it relates to the Holy Scriptures, have shined by it self in such Discourses as his incomparable Notes upon his

Porta

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Porta Mosis, to which we have seen nothing equal since the Restauration of Oriental Learning!

How would the Candidates of Oriental Studies have rejoiced to see him publish his *Meidánis* Proverbs now in the *Bodleian* Library, to the number of Six Thousand: Transcribed and Translated by his own Hand; and which he desired, as appears by what he hath written in the first Page, dated *Anno* 1637, That if he did not return from his second Journey into the *East*, should be published by the Learned Mr. *Thomas Gravius*!

What is it that so good natural Parts, such indefatigable Industry, blessed with those excellent Opportunities, and so long a Life (for I think he exceeded ninety) could not have helpt us to? What the *Erasmus's*, the *Budæus's*, *Stephens's*, *Scaliger's* and *Casaubon's* have been to us in *Greek*, the same would he have been in *Arabick*, nay and so much more as the Difference is between living Customs and Languages, and dead ones. His Master in the *East*, (to the *Mufti's* Credit be it spoken) having dismissed him with this Compliment, *Go thy ways, wheresoever thou goest thou art Master of more Arabick than the Mufti of Aleppo*!

But our good Friend Mr. *Selden* was pleased to rob us of another considerable Part of his
Time

Time in laying an ⁷ Obligation upon him to translate *Euty chius* his Annals, purely to gratify his own Vanity ; because that was the Author he had unhappily pitched upon, from whom to raise an Argument of the Equality of Bishops and Presbyters from the Foundation of the Church of *Alexandria*, the first Patriarch of which was it seems a *Cobler* ordained by *St. Mark*, to whom were joined Twelve more Presbyters (no doubt the first Converts that the Apostle made) out of whom was to be chosen a succeeding Patriarch upon the Demise of the Cobler.

Now purely for the sake of this Sneer upon our Established Episcopal Church and Clergy, did this great Scholar and Patron of Learning (whom, if we had any Gall, we have more reason still to hate than despise) employ so much of this Learned Man's Time about the translating a Book in it self good for little or nothing ; and which, if it had been never so good, ought to have been published only in the Original, because of the Easiness of the Language.

I know, Gentlemen, that you do not think this a Digression, for you are very well apprised

⁷ Dr. *Pocock* in the Title Page calls him *Choragus*, which was interpreted by some, as if the meaning of it had been because Mr. *Selden* had translated the beginning of it first (though with very bad Success.) But the Truth of it is, that Mr. *Selden* was at the Charges of it. If I be not mistaken, I had that Information from one of *Ravins's* Epistles, who was better acquainted with the Circumstances.

that

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that all this while I am only bewailing the want of those Helps that should have made not only our present History, but all our future Undertakings more compleat, and justly complaining of those that have robbed us of them. Give me Leave to shed one Tear upon the Tomb of that eminent Person (whom, if Dr. *Pocock* himself was alive, he would allow to be the only one qualified both by his Age, Inclination, Capacity, Learning and plentiful Circumstances, to receive from his Hand that shining Lamp that he had held to us before;) the Glory of our *British* Islands, the incomparable Mr. *Guise* of *All-Souls* College in *Oxford*; extinguished in the Flower of his Youth; excellent in all manner of Learning, Oriental especially, whose Memory I never recollect, nor whose Interpretations of nice Passages of the *Arabick* Authors, especially Poets, which frequently occur in some of Dr. *Huntington's* Manuscripts, I never read without the greatest Concern. But,

*² Si largitate sumptibusque funerum
Mæror levare posses, et Manes pios
Hilum juvarent lachrymæ viventium:
Utroque grati fungeremur munere,
Cæloque moles æqua surgeret, gravem
Testata curam, nec modus fletu foret.*

² Baudii Epist. LXXIV. Centuria I.

*Sed copiis luxuque vesano nihil
 Sedatur imo pectori infixus dolor.
 Nec fas piumque flere felices, quibus
 Æterna vita luce functis obtigit.*

Could costly Funerals mitigate our Grief,
 Or give departed Souls the least Relief;
 Nought should be wanting; Tears should swell
 our Eyes;

To Heaven it self the Monument should rise,
 Witness of our Concern: No Term of Years
 Should stop the Current of our flowing Tears.
 But Cost and vain Expence can't ease our Pains,
 Deep in our Breast the stubborn Grief remains.
 Nor is it Reason to lament the Blest,
 Who, fled from hence, enjoy Eternal Rest.

The Sorrow of those that survive will neither administer Consolation, nor repair our Loss. But if the most disconsolate Mothers receive Comfort after the Loss of their dearest Firstborn upon the Prospect of a fresh Offspring; we have no reason to despair but if some few of those many flourishing Genius's, with which both our Universities abound, were trained up to those Studies with due Encouragement; some to cultivate them at home; others to be sent abroad, we might restore the Glory of Oriental Learning to our *British* Islands (wherein to my certain Knowledge we have never yet been exceed-
 ed

ed abroad) and make our selves amends, at least in a great measure, for the Loss of those worthy Persons whom we so justly, so sincerely bewail.

But this we leave to the Wisdom of our Superiors: I could not pass by these Great Men without paying them this due Respect; now I return to my Apology.

I have not been wanting to my self in making use of the Learned Labours of *Monsieur D'Herbelot*; whose *Bibliothèque Orientale* deserves the highest Esteem from all that have any true Taste of Oriental Learning. After I had made my Collections I found him so accurate in the Life of *Ali*, (as there was good reason, he being the most considerable Person by much next to *Mahomet*) that I chose rather sometimes to transcribe him Paragraph by Paragraph, than to make what was well done before worse, by affecting to make it my own.

To him I owe whatsoever is quoted from the *Persian* Authors. How often have I endeavoured to perfect my self in that easy and delicate Language, but my malignant and envious Stars still frustrated my Attempts; but they shall sooner alter their Courses than extinguish my Resolution of quenching that Thirst which the little Taste I have had of it, hath already excited.

I am as yet destitute of *Turkish*; which I should not be so much concerned at, were it not for five Volumes in that Language in our Publick Library, which I behold with Delight and Concern at the same time: With Delight, because they are ours, and so not to be despaired of: With Concern, because I do not understand them. They are a Translation of the great *Tábari*, who is the *Livy* of the *Arabians*; the very Parent of their History, and as far as I could find by Enquiry given over for lost in *Arabick*. I formerly enquired of my Predecessor Dr. *Luke* concerning him, who said he had never met with him in the *East*, and that he was to be despaired of in *Arabick*: *Monsieur D'Herbelot* says the same. And there is this good Reason of it, that this being the Standard of their History, and upon that account at first translated out of *Arabick* into *Turkish*, the Value of the *Arabick* Copy must of necessity sink by Degrees in all those Territories where *Turkish* is better understood than *Arabick*; for it would not be worth the Bookseller's while to be at the Charge of transcribing it. However that we may not imagine it lost because of its Scarcity, I luckily found a Piece of it in *Folio* amongst Archbishop *Laud's* Manuscripts (pity it is imperfect) accurately written with all the Points, and no doubt for the use of some great Person, without the Assistance

of which Copy I must oftentimes have been left in the Dark.

But had I not been destitute of these Assistances; had I not been forced to snatch every thing that I have as it were out of the Fire; our *Saracen History* should have been ushered into the World after a different manner. Now, though, Gentlemen, I pay you a very particular Respect, yet you will pardon me if I choose rather to point out my own Deficiencies than leave them to you to find out after me, lest, notwithstanding your Candour, something should be ascribed to my Laziness or Negligence that ought more justly to be attributed to the Influence of inexorable Necessity. Wherefore, in the first Place, could I have been Master of my own Time and Circumstances, I would never have published any thing of this Kind at all, till I had perfectly finished the first Part of it according to the natural Division to which the Circumstances of the *Saracen* Empire directed the *Arabian* Historians of Course: That is, from the time of *Mahomet's* Birth to the Ruin of the House of *Ommiyah* by that of *Abbàs*, which was entirely effected in that Part of the Year of the *Hegirah* One Hundred and Thirty Two, which answers to Part of the Year of our Lord Seven Hundred and Fifty. Which Period would have included several other Conquests besides that of *Spain*.

I mention the Life of *MAHOMET* because it is the Foundation of all our History; and though what hath been written of it by the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Prideaux* is sufficient to give a general *Idea* of the Man and his Pretensions, and admirably accommodated to his principal Design of shewing the Nature of an Imposture; yet there are a great many very useful Memoirs of him left behind, which would tend very much to the Illustration of the succeeding History, as well as the Customs of those Times wherein he flourished. In the next Place, whereas my first Volume bears the Title of the *Saracens Conquest of Syria, Persia and Ægypt*; though it contains the Times of them all, yet the Particulars chiefly relate to *Syria*, the rest being supplied out of the short printed *Epitomes* of *Eutychius*, *Elmakin* and *Abu'lpharagius* for want of longer Time at *Oxford*; from whence it comes to pass that the Life of *Othman*, whose Reign was twelve Years, is but about a sixth Part of the length of that of *Abubeker*; who reigned but two: Though it cannot be denied that it would be much better allowed both in their Historians and in us to be a little more particular in the *Accounts* of *Syria, Palestine* and *Ægypt*, so venerable in all our Antiquity, than in those of other remote Countries, of the Succession of whose Princes we have no certain Account, and

of which we are hardly able to ascertain the Borders.

To have rendered the Work compleat in its kind ; not only an accurate Map ought to have been made of the Countries, but Geographical Descriptions of the most eminent Places out of their own Authors. The Ancient Tribes of the *Arabians* should have been fixed in their proper Habitations in a Map of *Arabia* made for the same Purpose.

But these were things rather to be desired than hoped for ; and if I had staid till I could have got all this Preparation, I must never have published any of it at all as long as I had lived. The Ancients oftentimes thought a Life well spent in polishing one single Book ; and certainly were very much in the Right of it, if (as most certainly they did) they intended to perpetuate their Memories to Posterity, and eke out perishing Mortality with an Addition of Glory. We can no sooner propose any thing though it requires never so much Care and Application, but we are daily importuned to know when it is to come out. This is our Comfort, that the Ancients are in their Graves, and though we can, when we find Leisure, read their Books, they shall never arise from the Dead to read ours.

But neither is the Modern Taste always so low ; (that we may not affectedly attribute eve-

ry thing to the Ancients) Monsieur *Petis de la Croix*, that famous Oriental Interpreter to the late *Lewis XIV.* of *France*, when commanded by the great *Colbert* to write the Life of *Jenkiz-Chan*, thought not ten Years time too much to employ about it, as his Son acknowledges in the Preface; though he neither wanted Books, Leisure, Abilities nor Encouragement. It is not only the following such Authors as have made it their business to write the Lives of such or such Princes is sufficient; but it is also necessary to gather up the scattered Remains that occur in other Historians; in Commentators upon the *Alcoran*; in the Scholiasts of their Poets; in their Medals, Inscriptions and Lexicographers. The Historian must also trace the Originals of Customs, Surnames, Tribes and the like; and in a word, in disposing all the Materials with such Judgment that every part may fall naturally into its proper place, and add a Lustre to the whole.

But my unhappy Condition hath always been widely different from any thing that could admit of such an Exactness. Fortune seems only to have given me a Taste of it out of Spight, on Purpose that I might regret the Loss of it. Though perhaps I may accuse her wrongfully for befriending me with an Excuse for those Blemishes that would have admitted of none had

I been furnished with all those Assistances and Advantages, the want of which I now bewail. If that was her Meaning, she hath been very tender of my Reputation indeed, and resolved that my Adversaries should have very little Reason to accuse me of the Loss of Time. The first Volume cost me two Journeys to *Oxford*, each of them of six Weeks only, (inclusive of the Delays upon the Road, and the Difficulty of finding the Books without any other Guide than the Catalogue, not always infallible.) But my chief Business lying then in ⁹ one Author, it was so much the easier to make a quick Dispatch; because it is of no small Moment in Affairs of this Nature to be once well acquainted with the Hand of the Manuscript, and the Stile of the Author.

But in my Second Undertaking I found a quite different Appearance of things in more respects than one. Either my Domestick Affairs were grown much worse, or I less able to bear them, or, what is most probable, both. What made me easy as to my Journey and Charges during my Absence, was the Liberality of the Worshipful *Thomas Freke*, of *Hannington, Wilts*, Esq; to whom the World is indebted for whatsoever is performed at present in this Second Volume; I mean with Regard to the Expences

of it : Which still would not have answered the End if I had not been indulged all possible Conveniencies of Study, first by the Favour of my much Honoured Friend, the incomparable Dr. *Halley*, who, with the Consent of his Learned Colleague Dr. *Keil*, allowed me the Keys of the *Savilian* Study ; and in the next Place by the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Hudson*, chief Library-Keeper of the *Bodleian* ; who according to his wonted Humanity permitted me to take out of the Library whatsoever Books were for my Purpose ; otherwise though I had five Months Time, much could not have been done, considering the Variety and Difficulty of the Manuscripts ; besides that I was forced to take the Advantage of the Slumbers of my Cares, that never slept when I was awake ; and if they did not incessantly interrupt my Studies, were sure to succeed them with no less Constancy than Night doth the Day. Though it would be the height of Ingratitude in me not to acknowledge that they were daily alleviated by the Favours and Courtesies which I received from Persons of the greatest Dignity and Merit in that Noble University ; too numerous to be all here inserted, and all too worthy (should I mention any one of them) to be omitted.

Some such Apology as this will always be necessary for him that undertakes a Work of

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this Nature upon his own bottom without proper Encouragement. If any one should pertly ask me, *Why then do you trouble the World with things that you are not able to bring to Perfection?* Let them take this Answer of one of our ⁷ famous Arabian Authors; *What cannot totally be known, ought not to be totally neglected; for the Knowledge of a Part is better than the Ignorance of the Whole.*

⁷ Abu'lpheda, Præf. ad Geograph.

MSS. *Authors made use of* Their Places in the
in this History. Bodleian Library.

- THE First Volume of *Abul-pheda's Universal History*. } *Pocock's MSS. Num. 303.*
- The Second Volume of the *Alcá-mil*, or *Universal History*, by *Ebno'l Atbir*. } *ibid. Num. 137.*
- The Fifth Volume of the same. } *ibid. Num. 103.*
History of *Jerusalem*. } *ibid. Num. 362.*
- The Seventh Volume of the Memorial of *Ebn Hamdoun*, containing a Collection of Speeches, Epistles, and Messages. } *ibid. Num. 328.*
- Ebn Chalecan's History of the Deaths of Great Men*. Two Volumes Folio. } *ibid. Num. { 335,*
 } *336.*
- Another Copy of the same, in five Volumes Folio. } *Huntington's MSS. Num. 58*
 } *& seq.*
- The Sentences of *ALI*. } *ibid. Num. 431.*
- History of the Chaliphs from the latter end of *Ali's* Government to the Reign of *Merwân* the Son of *Albakem*. (Imperfect and Anonymous, but *Optimæ Notæ*.) } *ibid. Num. 495.*
- An Imperfect Historian (and therefore Anonymous,) in Folio, with Points diligently written, and of singular Use in this History. } *Laud's MSS. Num. 161. A.*
- The Second Volume of *Altabari's* Great History. } *ibid. Num. N. 55. 124.*
- Yacutus Hamawvaeus* his Geography, (unless my Conjecture fails me) there are two Volumes wanting of five, viz. the first and the third. } *Armachan. MS. NS. { 150,*
 } *151,*
 } *152.*

A Chronological Table for 51 Years.

<i>Years of the Julian Period.</i>	<i>Years of Christ, reckoning from the first day of January.</i>	<i>Years of the Hegira or Flight of Mahomet, with the days of the Month on which they begin in the Solar Year.</i>	<i>Grecian Emperors.</i>	<i>Saracenic Caliphs.</i>
5368 9	655 656	35. July 10 36. Jun. 29	CONSTANS 14 Son of Constantine 15	ALI.
5370 1 2 3 4	657 658 659 660 661	37. Jun. 18 38. Jun. 8 39. May 28 40. May 16 41. Mry 6	16 17 18 19 20	HASAN. MOAWIYAH I.
5375 6 7 8 9	662 663 664 665 666	42. April 25 43. April 14 44. April 3 45. March 23 46. March 13	21 22 23 24 25	
5380 1 2 3 4	667 668 669 670 671	47. March 2 48. Feb. 19 49. Feb. 8 50. Jan. 28 51. Jan. 17	26 27 CONSTAN- TINUS 1 2 3	
5385 6 7 8 9	672 673 674 675 676	{ 52. Jan. 7 } { 53. Dec. 26 } 54. Dec. 15 55. Dec. 5 56. Nov. 24 57. Nov. 13	4 5 6 7 8	
5390 1 2 3 4	677 678 679 680 681	58. Nov. 2 59. Oct. 22 60. Oct. 12 61. Sept. 30 62. Sept. 19	9 10 11 12 13	YEZID I.
5395 6 7 8 9	682 683 684 685 686	63. Sept. 9 64. Aug. 29 65. Aug. 17 66. Aug. 7 67. July 27	14 15 16 JUSTINIA- NUS II. 17 2	MOAWIY- AH II.
5400 1 2 3 4	687 688 689 690 691	68. July 17 69. July 5 70. Jun. 24 71. Jun. 14 72. Jun. 3	3 4 5 6 7	

A Chronological Table for 51 Years.

Remarkable Actions or Accidents.

R. H.

- 35 *Moarwiyah, Ayesha, Telha and Zobeir make a power Opposition against*
 36 *Ali.*
-
- 37 The Battles at *Seffin* between *Ali* and *Moarwiyah*. *Amrou* over-reacheth
 38 his Colleague *Abu Musa* in the Arbitration between *Ali* and *Moarwiyah*.
-
- 39 *Ali* and *Moarwiyah* are both assassinated. *Ali* dies. *Moarwiyah* narrowly
 40 escapeth. *Hasan* resigns the Government to *Moarwiyah*.
-
- 42 *Amrou Ebno'l Aas* the famous Conqueror and Lieutenant of *Ægypt* dies.
 43
-
- 44 *Moarwiyah* owns *Ziyad* the Son of *Somyah* for his Brother; and makes him Gover-
 45 nour of the Eastern Provinces. *Zeid*, a Man of singular Learning and Modesty,
 46 dies.
-
- 47
 48
 49 *Constantinople* besieged seven Years. *Abu Iyub* killed there.
 50
 51
-
- 52 *Ziyad*, the Son of *Somyah*, dies.
 53
-
- 54 *Moarwiyah* attempting to remove *Mahomet's* Pulpit from *Medinah* to
 55 *Damascus*, they that set about it are terrified by an Eclipse.
 56 *Moarwiyah* makes the Government Hereditary; by obliging the Provin-
 57 ces to acknowledge his Son *Yezid* his lawful Heir and Successor.
-
- 58
 59 *Moarwiyah* dies. *Hosein* the Son of *Ali* sets up for the Government, and marcheth from
 60 *Meccah* towards *Cusab*.
 61 He is killed upon the Plains of *Kerbelab*. After his Decease *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*
 62 declares openly against *Yezid* at *Medinah*. *Medinah* besieged. (*Anno* 64.)
-
- 63 And taken.
 64 *Meccah* besieged. The Siege raised upon the News of *Yezid's* Death.
 65 *Solyman*, the Son of *Sorad*, encourages *Ali's* Party to revenge the Death
 66 of *Hosein*. He is killed, and *Almochtari* makes his Appearance, *Anno* 65.
 67 He revengeth *Hosein's* Death. *Almochtari* is killed by *Musab*.
-
- 68
 69 *Abdölmélick* marches against *Musab*, and kills him.
 70
 71 *Musab* killed by *Abdölmélick*.
 72 The Sect of the *Axarakites* raise a Commotion in the East.

A Chronological Table for 51 Years.

<i>Years of the Julian Period.</i>	<i>Years of Christ, reckoning from the first day of January.</i>	<i>Years of the Hegi- rahor Flight of Ma- homet, with the Days of the Month on which they begin in the Solar Year.</i>	<i>Grecian Emperors.</i>	<i>Saracenic Caliphs.</i>
5405	692	73. May 22		
6	693	74. May 12		
7	694	75. May 1	LEONTIUS	
8	695	76. April 21	PATRICIUS.	
9	696	77. April 9		
5410	697	78. March 29		
1	698	79. March 19	TIBERIUS	
2	699	80. March 8	Apfimar.	
3	700	81. Feb. 25		
4	701	82. Feb. 14		
5415	702	83. Feb. 3		
6	703	84. Jan. 23		
7	704	85. Jan. 13		
8	705	86. Jan. 1	JUSTINIAN	
			Restored.	

A Chronological Table for 51 Years.

Remarkable Actions or Accidents.

Y. H.

73	<i>Abdollah, the Son of Zobeir, is besieged in Meccah, and killed.</i>
74	<i>Hejage made Governour of Irak, Choreasan, and Sigistan.</i>
75	
76	<i>Sbebib rises against Hejage.</i>
77	<i>He is killed.</i>
78	
79	
80	
81	<i>Mohammed, the Son of Haniphiyah, dies.</i>
82	<i>Abdorrabman rebels against Hejage. Kills himself by a Fall from an House.</i>
83	
84	
85	
86	<i>Abdolmélick dies.</i>

For the greater Illustration of the *Mahometan* Creed and Practice, I thought fit to insert their Famous Doctor ¹ *Algazáli's* Interpretation of the two Articles of their Faith, viz. *There is no God but God; Mahomet is the Apostle of God.*

PRaise be to God the Creator and Restorer of all things: Who does whatsoever he pleases, who is Master of the Glorious Throne and Mighty Force, and directs his sincere Servants into the right way and the streight path: Who favoureth them, after their having born Testimony to the **UNITY**, with the preservation of their Confessions from the darkneses of doubt and hesitation: Who directs them to follow his chosen Apostle, upon whom be the Blessing and Peace of God; and to go after his most honourable Companions to whom he hath vouchsafed his assistance and direction which is revealed to them in his Essence and Operations by the Excellencies of his Attributes, to the Knowledge whereof no Man attains but he that hath been taught by hearing. Who maketh known to them that as touching his Essence, he is **ONE**, who hath no Partner: Singular, without any thing like him: Uniform, having no Contrary:

¹ Vide *Pocock Specimen Historiæ Arabum.* p. 274.

Separate, having no Equal. That he is Ancient, having no First : Eternal, having no Beginning ; remaining for ever, having no End ; continuing to Eternity, without any Termination. Who persists, without ceasing to be ; who remains without failing, Who never did cease nor ever shall cease ; to be described by Glorious Attributes, nor is subject to any decree so as to be determined by any precise limits or set times, but is the First and the Last, and is within and without.

** What he is not] And that he, (Glorified be his Name) is not a Body endued with Form, nor a Substance circumscribed with limits or determined by measure ; neither doth he resemble Bodies as they are capable of being measured or divided. Neither is he a Substance, neither do Substances exist in him, neither is he an Accident, nor do Accidents exist in him ; but that neither is he like to any of those things that do exist, neither is any thing like to him ; nor is he terminated by quantity nor comprehended in bounds, nor circumscribed by the differences of Situation nor contained in the Heavens : But that he sits upon the Throne, after that manner which he himself hath described, and in that same sense which he himself means, which is a sitting that is far removed from any notion of Contact, or resting upon, or local Situation ; but both the Throne it self, and whatsoever is upon it are sustained by the goodness of his
Power*

Power, and are subject to the grasp of his hand. But he is above the Throne and above all things even to the utmost ends of the Earth; but so above as at the same time not to be a whit nearer the Throne and the Heaven; since he is exalted by [infinite] degrees above the Throne no less than he is exalted above the Earth, and at the same time is near to every thing that hath a being; nay, ⁴ nearer to Men than their Jugular veins, and is witness to every thing: Though his nearness is not like the nearness of Bodies, as neither is his Essence like the Essence of Bodies. Neither doth he exist in any thing, neither doth any thing exist in him, but that he is too high to be contained in any Place, and too Holy to be determined by Time; for he was before Time and Place were Created, and is after the same manner as he always was. And that he is distinct from the Creatures by his Attributes, neither is there any thing besides himself in his Essence, nor is his Essence in any other besides him. And that he is too Holy to be Subject to Change, or any local Motion, neither do any Accidents dwell in him nor any Contingencies befall him, but he abides through all Generations with his Glorious Attributes, free from all danger of dissolution. And that as to the Attributes of his Perfection, he wants no Addition of Perfection. And that as to his Being, he is known to Exist by

⁴ Alcoran.

the Apprehension of the Understanding ; and seen as he is by Ocular Intuition out of his Mercy and Grace to the Holy in the Eternal Mansion, completing their Joy by the Vision of his Glorious Presence.

** His Power.] And that HE, Praised be his Name, is Living, Powerful, Mighty, Omnipotent not liable to any defect or impotence ; who neither Slumbers nor Sleeps, nor is obnoxious to Decay nor Death. To whom belongs the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Might. His is the Dominion, and the Excellency ; and the Creation, and the Command thereof. And the Heavens are folded up in his right Hand, and all the Creatures are couched within his grasp. And that his Excellency consists in his Creating and Producing ; and his Unity in communicating Existence and Original. He Created Men and their Works, and measured out their maintenance and their determined times. Nothing can escape his grasp that is possible, nor the Vicissitudes of things get out of the reach of his Power. The Effects of his Power are innumerable, and the Objects of his Knowledge Infinite.*

** His Knowledge.] And that HE, Praised be his Name, knows all things that can be understood, and comprehends whatsoever passes ; from the Extremities of the Earth to the Highest Heavens ; so that the weight of a Pismire should not escape him either in Earth or Heaven ; but he*

The Creed of the

would know the creeping of the black Pismire in the dark Night upon the hard Stone, and apprehend the Motion of an Atom in the open Air ; and knows what is secret and conceals it ; and views the Conceptions of the minds, and the Motions of the thoughts and the inmost recesses of Secrets by a knowledge Ancient, Eternal, that never ceased to be his Attribute from Eternal Eternity. Not by a New Knowledge, superadded to his Essence, either Inhering or Adventitious.

* His Will.] And that HE, Praised be his Name, doth WILL those things to be that are, and disposeth of all Accidents, and that there passeth nothing in the Empire, nor the Kingdom, neither little nor much, nor small nor great, nor good nor evil, nor profitable nor hurtful, nor Faith nor Infidelity, nor Knowledge nor Ignorance, nor Prosperity nor Adversity, nor Increase nor Decrease, nor Obedience nor Rebellion, but by his determinate Counsel and Decree, and his definitive Sentence, and Will. Nor doth the wink of him that seeth, nor the Stricture of him that thinketh exceed the bounds of his Will ; but that it is HE who gave all things their Beginning, he is the Creator and Restorer, the sole Operator of what he pleases, there is no reversing his Decree nor delaying what he hath determined, nor is there any Refuge to Man from his Rebellion against him, but only his Help and Mercy ; nor hath any Man
any

any Power to perform any Duty towards him, but through his Love and Will: Though Men and Genius's, Angels and Devils should conspire together either to put one single Atome in Motion or cause it to cease its Motion without his Will and Approbation, they would not be able to do it: And that his Will subsists in his Essence amongst the rest of his Attributes, and was from Eternity one of his Eternal Attributes; by which he willed from Eternity the Existence of those things that he had decreed, which were produced in their proper seasons according to his Eternal Will; without any BEFORE or AFTER, but as they were agreeable to his Knowledge and Will. Not by Methodizing of thoughts, nor waiting for a proper time; for which reason one thing doth not hinder him from another.

* His Hearing and Sight.] And that HE, Praised be his Name, is HEARING and SEEING and beareth and seeth; No² Audible Object, how still soever, escapeth his Hearing; nor is any thing visible so small as to escape his Sight. For Distance is no Hindrance to his Hearing, nor Darknes to his Sight: He sees without Apple of the Eye or Eye-Lids; and hears without any Passage or Ear; as he knoweth without

² We are not to understand those Words Audible, Visible, as if it were necessary it should be so to us, but in its own Nature.

The Creed of the

a Heart, and performs his Actions without the Assistance of any Corporeal Limb; and creates without any Instrument; for his Attributes [or Properties] are not like those of Men any more than his Essence is like theirs.

** His Word.] Furthermore, that he doth speak, command, forbid, promise and threaten by an Eternal Ancient Word subsisting in his Essence: Neither is it like to the Word of the Creatures, nor doth it consist in a Voice arising from the Commotion of the Air and the Collision of Bodies, nor Letters which are separated by the joyning together of the Lips or the Motion of the Tongue. And that the Alcoran, the Law, the Gospel and the Psalter, are Books sent down by him to his Apostles; and that the Alcoran indeed is read with Tongues, written in Books, and kept in Hearts; subsisting in the Essence of God, neither doth it become liable to Separation and Division whilst it is transferred into the Hearts and the Papers. Also that Moses did hear the Word of God without Voice or Letter, even as the Saints behold the Essence of God without Substance or Accident. And that since these are his Attributes, He liveth and knoweth, is powerful and willeth and operateth, and seeth and speaketh, by Life and Knowledge, and Will and Hearing, and Sight and Word, not by his simple Essence.*

** His Works.] And that HE, Praised be his Name, exists after such a manner that nothing besides*

besides him hath any Being but what is produced by his Work, and floweth from his Justice after the Best, most Excellent, most Perfect and most Just Manner, and that he is wise in his Works, and just in his Decrees : Nor is his Justice to be compared with the Justice of Men, because a Man may be suspected of Acting unjustly by invading the Possession of another ; But no Injustice can be conceived of God, who can find nothing belonging to any other besides himself, so as if any Injury could be imputed to him as concerning himself with things not appertaining to him ; but all things, He only excepted, Genius's, Men, the Devil, Angels, Heaven, Earth, Animals, Plants, Substance, Accident, Intelligible, Sensible, were all created anew ; and that he created them by his Power after meer Privation, and brought them into Light when they were nothing at all, but he alone existed from Eternity, neither was there any other with him. Now he produced the Creatures anew for the Manifestation of his Power, and his Precedent Will, and the Confirmation of his Word which was true from all Eternity, not that he stood in need of them, nor wanted them : And that he manifestly declared his Glory in Creating, and Producing, and Commanding, without being under any Obligation ; and in affording Grace and doing Good, not out of any Necessity ; since Loving-Kindness, and shewing Favour and Grace and Beneficence, belong to him ; whereas it is in his
Power

Power to pour forth upon Men Variety of Torments, and afflict them with various Kinds of Sorrows and Diseases, which if he should do, it would be Justice in him, not reproachful nor Injustice. And that he rewards those that worship him for their Obedience upon the account of his Promise and Beneficence, not of Merit nor Necessity, since there is nothing which he can be tied to perform, nor can any Injustice be feigned in him, nor can he be under any Obligation to any Person whatsoever. But that the Creatures are obliged to serve him ariseth from his having declared by the Tongues of the Prophets that it was due to him from them: Not by the simple Dictate of the Understanding, but that he sent them Messengers whose Veracity he had proved by manifest Miracles, who brought down from him to Men Commands and Promises and Threats, whereby Men are therefore obliged to give Credit to them in those things that they relate.

The Signification of the Second Article.] That is the ³ Testimony concerning the Apostle. And that HE, Most High, sent Mahomet the illiterate Prophet of the Family of the Koreish to deliver his Message to all the Arabians and Barbarians, and Genii and Men; and abrogated by his Religion all other Religions except those things which he confirmed; and gave him the Preference over all the rest of the Prophets, and made him

³ *Mahomet is the Apostle of God.*

Lord over all Mortal Men. Neither would he have the Faith be compleated by the Testimony of the UNITY, that is the saying there is but ONE GOD, without the Addition of the Testimony of the Apostle, by saying, Mohammed is the Apostle of God. And he hath made it necessary to Men to give Credit to him in those things which he hath related both with regard to this present World, and the Life to come. For a Man's Faith is not accepted till he is fully persuaded of those things which he hath affirmed shall be after Death. The first of which is the Examination of Munkir and Nakir, who are two Persons of a most terrible and horrible Aspect that shall set [every] Man upright in his Grave, consisting both of Soul and Body, and ask him concerning the UNITY and the Mission [of the Apostle] saying, Who is thy Lord? And what is thy Religion? And who is thy Prophet? And that these are the Searchers of the Grave, and their Examination the first Tryal after Death: And that he believe the Torment of the Sepulchre, and that it is Due, and Right and Just both upon the Body and the Soul according to his Will.

He shall also Believe in the Balance with two Scales and a Beam that shall equal the Extent of the Heavens and the Earth; wherein the Works [of Men] shall be weighed by the Power of God; at which time Weights not heavier than Atoms or Mustard-Seeds shall be brought out that things
may

may be balanced with the utmost Exactness and perfect Justice administered. Then the Books of the good Works, beautiful to behold, shall be cast into the Balance of Light, by which the Balance shall be depressed according to their Degrees with God, out of the Favour of God. But the Books of evil Deeds, nasty to look upon, shall be cast into the Balance of Darknes, with which the Scale shall lightly ascend by the Justice of the most High God.

He must also believe that there is a real way, which is a Body extended over the middle of Hell, sharper than a Sword, and finer than an Hair, upon which the Feet of the Infidels shall slip by the Decree of God, so as they shall fall into Hell-Fire, whilst the Feet of the Faithful shall remain firm, and they shall be conducted into the Eternal Habitation.

He shall also believe the Pond where they go down to be watered, that is the Pond of Mahomet, upon whom be the Blessing and Peace of God, out of which the Faithful drink before they enter into Paradise after they have passed over that way, and out of which whosoever drinketh once shall thirst no more for ever. Its Breadth is a Months Journey, it is whiter than Milk, and sweeter than Honey. Round about it stand Cups as innumerable as the Stars, and it hath two Canals whereby the Water of the [River] Cauthar is derived into it.

He shall also believe the [last] Account, in which Men shall be divided into those that shall be reckoned withal with the utmost Striētnefs, and those that shall be dealt withal more favourably, and those that shall be admitted into Paradise without any manner of Examination at all, namely those whom God shall cause to approach near to himself. And that God will ask any of his Apostles, whomsoever he shall please, concerning their Mission, and whomsoever he shall please of the Unbelievers what was the Reason why they accused those that were sent to them of Lying: He will also examine the Hereticks concerning Tradition, and the Faithful concerning their good Works.

He shall also believe that they that confess one God shall at length go out of the Fire after they have underwent the Punishment due to their Sins, so that by the favourable Mercy of God no Person shall remain in Hell who acknowledged the Unity of the Godhead.

Also the Intercession of the Prophets, next of the Doctors, then of the Martyrs, and finally of the rest of the Faithful (that is, every one according to his Excellency and Degree) and that whosoever remain of the Faithful besides these, and have no Intercessor, shall go out by the Grace of God; neither shall any one of the Faithful remain for ever in Hell, but shall go out from thence though he had but so much Faith in his Heart as the Weight of an Atome.

It is also necessary that he acknowledge the Excellency of the Companions [of Mahomet] and their Degrees ; and that the most Excellent of Men next to Mahomet is Abubeker, then Omar, then Othman, and then Ali, and that he entertain a good Opinion of all the Companions, and celebrate their Memories, according as God and his Apostle hath celebrated them all. And all these things are received by Tradition, and evinced by evident Tokens, and he that confesseth all these things, and surely believeth them, is to be reckoned amongst the Number of those that embrace Truth, and of the Congregation of those that walk in the received way, separated from the Congregation of those that err, and the Company of Hereticks.

4 These are the things that every one is obliged to believe and confess that would be accounted worthy of the Name of a *Musleman*, and that according to the literal Meaning of the Words, not as they may be made capable of any sounder Sense. According to the same Author of this Exposition, who says that, *Some pretending to go deeper, have put an Interpretation upon those things that are delivered concerning the World to come, as the Balance and the Way and some other things besides, but it is Heresy.*

* Vid. *Pocock*, p. 222. *Spec. Hist. Arab.*

HISTORY

OF THE

SARACENS.

IT is very well worth observing in the Beginning of this History, that the seeming Agreement of the *Arabians* in the Profession of the same Religion, had not sufficient Influence upon them to extinguish old Grudges and Family Quarrels. *Telba* and *Azzobéir*, two leading Men amongst them, and *Ayesha*, *Mahomet's* youngest and best beloved Wife, were *Ali's* irreconcilable and implacable Enemies. However, *Ali* having married *Phatemah*, *Mahomet's* Daughter, the *Arabians*, there being no Male-Issue remaining of their Prophet, favoured his Interest, desirous of being governed by a Succession of *Caliphs* descended from the Loyns of *Mahomet*. *Telba* and *Azzobéir* were so well apprised of this, that they thought it Prudence to dissemble their Hatred so far, that the very same Day on which *Othman* was murdered, they

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took the Oath of Allegiance to *Ali*, with a steadfast Resolution of breaking it, as soon as a favourable Opportunity should offer it self. The Case was, that the Inhabitants of the several Provinces, who had come together from all Quarters of the Empire, from *Syria*, *Ægypt*, *Mesopotamia*, *Persia* and *Arabia*, upon the Account of the Complaints made against *Othman*, whereof we have given an Account in the former Volume, were resolved not to be kept in Suspence, but to know whom they were to depend upon for their Emperor: ⁸ And threatned all the Candidates with Death if they did not speedily fix upon some one or other. Some of the *Bassorians* favoured *Telba*; the *Cusians*, *Egyptians*, and the greatest Part of the *Arabians* were for *Ali*. *Zobêir* had a Party of the *Bassorians* in his Interest, who threatned him with Death, if he did not either take the Government upon himself, or take Care to see it conferred upon some other Person.

In this Confusion several of them came to *Ali*; and desired him to accept of the Government; to which he answered, that he had no Need of it himself, but had much rather give his Consent to the Choice of any Person they should agree upon. They still insisted, that there was none so well qualified as he, whether he

⁸ *Elno'l Athir.*

were considered with Regard to his Personal Accomplishments, or his near Relation to the Prophet. He replied, that he had much rather serve any Person, they should think fit to chuse, in the Capacity of a ⁴Vizier, than take the Government upon himself. Upon his obstinate Refusal, a great many of them of the several Provinces, who were all well enough satisfied with the Murder of *Otbman*,⁵ but could not so well agree in the Choice of a Successor, perceiving also that all those of the Family of *Ommiyah*, of which more hereafter, that had an Opportunity, had withdrawn themselves, came in a tumultuous Manner to the chief Inhabitants of *Medinah*, and told them, that they were the proper Persons to determine this Controversy; adding, that they would allow them one Day to consider of it, in which Time, if it was not concluded, *Telha*, *Zobéir*, *Ali*, and several others should be put to the Sword. Upon this they came to *Ali* in the Evening, earnestly intreating him to consider the Condition of their Religion, who still declining it, and desiring them to think of some other Person: They said, *We adjure thee by God! Dost not thou consider in what Condition we are? Dost thou not consider the* ⁶*Religion? Dost not thou consider the Distraction of the*

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⁴ *Abu'lpheda.*

⁵ *Ebno'l Athir.*

⁶ *Arab. Alislâm.*

So we shall render it for the future.

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People? Dost thou not fear God? Overcome at last with these pathetic Expostulations, he answered, If I comply with you in this, I shall deal with you according to the best of my Knowledge; and if you excuse me, there will be no other Difference between you and me but this; that I shall be one of the most submissive and obedient to whomsoever you shall set over me. He resolved not to accept of their Allegiance in private; for they profered to give him their Hands, (the customary Ceremony then in use among them upon such Occasions) at his own House; but would have it performed publickly at the Mosque, that all Parties might be satisfied, and have no justifiable Cause of Complaint; knowing very well that *Ayesha, Telba, Azzobéir* (or *Zobéir*) and the whole House of *Ommiyah*, (of which *Moawiyah*, then *Othman's* Lieutenant in Syria, was Chief,) would never omit the least Opportunity of giving him the utmost Disturbance that lay in their Power. Wherefore in the Morning he went to the Mosque, dressed in a thin Cotton Gown tied about him with a Girdle; a coarse Turbant upon his Head, his Slippers in one Hand, and a Bow in the other instead of a walking Staff. *Telba* and *Zobéir* not being present they were sent for, and came and offered him their Hands as a Mark or Token of their Approbation. *Ali* bad them, if they did

do

do it, be in good Earnest, otherwise he would give his own Hand to either of them that would accept of the Government, which they both refused, and gave him theirs. The Eastern Nations are generally addicted to Superstition, and great Observers of *Omens*: When *Telba* offered *Ali* his Hand, which had been very much damaged and broken by some Wounds which he had received in the Wars; one that was present said; that it was a bad Sign, and that it was like to be but a *lame sort of a Business that was begun with a lame Hand*. How far that Presage of his was fulfilled, will best appear from the Perusal of the remaining Part of the History of *Ali*.

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Soon after this was over, *Telba* and *Zobéir*, with some others of their Party, came to *Ali*, and complained to him of the Murder of *Othman*; insinuating, that it ought by all Means to be revenged, and profering their Service. Their secret Design was to take the first Opportunity of making a Disturbance among the People, which they did not in the least question would end infallibly in the Destruction of *Ali* and his Party. *Ali* told them, "That he very well understood their Meaning; representing to them at the same Time, how impracticable an Undertaking it would be to pretend to do

¹ *Ebno'l Athîr*. MS. Pocock. N. 137.

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“ any thing to such a Number, and of such
“ considerable Force ; desiring them to inform
“ him, if it were in their Power, what proper
“ Method they could propose to answer their
“ End. They told him, they knew of none.
“ He swore, nor he neither, unless it were the
“ uniting all Parties together, if it should so
“ please God : Adding, that these Dissentions
“ had their Foundation laid in the Times of
“ Ignorance ; (meaning, that they were ancient
“ Family Quarrels before *Mahomet*’s Pretence
“ to Inspiration) that these discontented Peo-
“ ple would still increase ; *For the Devil never*
“ *left the Place he had taken Possession of, after*
“ *once he had made a Beginning.* In such an
“ Affair as this, says he, one Party will approve
“ of what you propose, a second will be of a
“ different Opinion, and a third will dissent
“ from both the former : Wherefore consult a-
“ mong yourselves.”

Ali in the mean time was very instant with
the *Coreish*, (the most noble Tribe of the *Ara-*
bians) walking about from one to the other, and
taking all possible Opportunities of caressing
them. He did not fail to express the Sense he
entertained of their Excellency, and the depen-
dence of the Welfare of the People, upon their
Authority : For he was extremely concerned
at the Heats and Divisions which he observed
among

among the People, and especially at the sudden Departure of the *Ommiyan* Family. When nothing could be concluded upon, *Telha* and *Zobéir* begged of *Ali*, one of them the Government of *Cusab*, the other of *Basorah*, (both Places of very great Importance, the one situate upon the Eastern Bank of the River *Euphrates*, the other two Miles Westward of the *Tigris*) upon pretence that if any thing extraordinary should happen, they would take Horse at a Minute's warning. ¹ He told them that he would consider of that Matter. ² Though other Historians say, that he put them off with a Compliment, telling them that he had no body about him of equal Capacity with themselves, or so proper to Consult withal in such Emergencies, as such a new established Government was likely to be exposed to: Which Answer of his touched them to the quick; and they knowing that *Ayesha* was at *Meccah*, having gone thither on Pilgrimage whilst *Othman* was besieged, begged leave of him to go thither, which was granted.

³ As soon as *Ali* was acknowledged *Caliph*, he resolved to take away the Governments and Lieutenancies from all those Persons who had been put in by *Othman* his Predecessor. *Almo-*

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¹ *Ebno'l Athir.*
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² See Dr. *Herbelot* under the Title

³ *Abulpheda.*

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geirab the Son of *Saïd* advised him to forbear a little, at least till he should find himself more firmly established in his Government, which *Ali* did ⁶ not approve of. The Day after *Almogeirab* made him another Visit, and told him that he had changed his Opinion, at the same time advising him to follow his own Way, and proceed according to what he had at first proposed himself. In the midst of this Conference between *Ali* and *Almogeirab*, *Abdollah* the Son *Abbas*, who was at *Meccah* when *Othman* was killed, but upon the Election of *Ali* was newly returned to *Medinah*) chanced to come in, and finding *Ali* and *Almogeirab* together, took Occasion to enquire of *Ali*, what had been the Subject of their Discourse. *Ali* told him that *Almogeirab* had advised him to continue *Moa-wiyah* and the rest of *Othman*'s Lieutenants in their Places till they should come in of their own Accord, and he was fixed in his Government; which I, added he, not approving, he came and told me to Day that he had altered his Opinion, and that I was in the Right. The Son of *Abbas* told him that *Almogeirab* had given him good Advice the first time, but the last was Treachery. He told him, that he was affraid that all *Syria*,

* Dr. *Herbelot* says, *Ali suivet son Conseil*: *Ali* followed his Counsel. Our Manuscript says otherwise, and the Sense proves it.

over which *Moawiyah* was Lieutenant would fall off from him: That there was no Confidence to be repofed in *Telha* and *Zobéir*: That there was reason rather to fufpect that they would both be in Arms againft him. Wherefore, fays he, *I advife you to continue Moawiyah in his Place till he fubmits to your Government; and when he has once done that, leave it to me to pull him out of his Houfe by the Ears for you whenfoever you defire it.* *Ali* fware by God, that nothing fhould be *Moawiyah's Portion but the Sword.* Upon which the other told him, that he was indeed a Man of Courage, but wanted Conduct. *Ali* told him that it was his Bufinefs to obey. *Almogeirah* replied, that he did not find himfelf under any fuch Obligation. Thus the Conference broke up, and in a fhort time *Almogeirah* retired to *Meccah*.

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The greateft Part of the *Helpers* came in, except a few that had been *Othman's* Almoners and other Officers. ³ Hence it feems came the Title of the *Motazeli*, which in Englifh fignifies *Separatifts*, becaufe when *Ali* was Proclaimed, they were of the oppofite Party.

Ali, deaf to all Representations to the contrary, refolved to make a thorough Reformation in all the Lieutenancies; and in the beginning of the next ⁴ Year, fent out his new Officers to

³ *Abulpheda.*

⁴ An. Heg. 36.

A. L. I.

An. Heg. 35.

cæpit Jul. 10.

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their respective Provinces. *Othman* the Son of *Haniph* was ordered to *Basorah*. *Ammarah* the Son of *Sakâl* to *Cufah*, (he was one of the *Flyers*.) *Abdollah* the Son of *Abbas* to *Arabia Fælix*, (he was one of the *Helpers*.) And *Sabel* the Son of *Haniph*, another of the *Helpers*, to *Syria*.

When *Sabel* came to *Tabûk* he met with a Party of Horse ; who demanded of him to give an account of himself, he answered that he was Governor of *Syria*. They told him that if any one else besides *Othman* had sent him, he might go back again about his Business. He asked them if they had not been informed of the Fate of *Othman*? They told him, yes. Perceiving that there was no room for him there, he returned back to *Ali*. *Kais* went into *Ægypt*, where he was opposed by a Party of the *Othmanians*, who refused to submit to *Ali*'s Government, till Justice was done upon the Murtherers of *Othman*. *Othman* the Son of *Haniph* went to *Basorah*, where he found the People divided. And receiving Information that the *Cusians* were resolved not to change their Governor, returned to *Ali*, with the News of their Resolution. *Abu Musa Alashari* was then the Governor of *Cufah*, put in by *Othman*. *Abidollah* went to *Arabia Fælix*, where *Yali* governed by *Othman*'s Commission. *Yali* resigned to him ; but plundered the Treasury first ; and making the best of his

Way

Way to *Meccah*, delivered the Money to *Ayesha*,
Telha and *Zobéir*.

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The *Separatists* in the mean time, least they should be wanting in any thing that might possibly give any Disturbance to *Ali*'s Government, carried *Othman*'s bloody Shirt, in which he was Murthered, into *Syria*; where they made a very good Use of it. Sometimes it was spread upon the Pulpit; and sometimes carried about in the Army. To inflame the Matter; his Wife's Fingers, that were cut off at the time when he was Murthered, were pinned upon the Shirt. This Sight daily exposed to open View, put the *Syrian* Army, who were very much Indebted to *Othman*'s Munificence, into a Rage; nothing would serve but the revenging his Death. And they indeed were in good Earnest: But the whole Secret of this Affair lyes here. *Ayesha*, *Telha* and *Zobéir* were always Enemies to *Othman*, and the Contrivers of his Death and Destruction. But when they saw *Ali* elected, whom they equally hated, they made use of *Othman*'s real and sincere Friends as Instruments of their Malice against him. So that upon different Accounts they all unanimously joined in demanding Satisfaction for the Murther of *Othman*.

As soon as *Sabel* returned with his Answer from *Syria*, which was before *Telha* and *Zobéir* had taken their leave, he sent for them both,
and

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and told them that what he had cautioned them against before, was now come to pass; that things were carried to too great an height already to be made up without such an Expedient, as should make all Parties easy: That Sedition was like Fire, the more it burnt, the stronger it grew, and the brighter it shined. They then asked him to give them leave to go out of *Medinah*, and if the Disturbance increased, they would be answerable for it. What Answer he gave them I cannot so well tell, because I am not sure of the true Reading in my ⁷ obscure Manuscript. Here give me leave once to say, that if I were not destitute of Arabick Types, I would never be ashamed to confess my Ignorance of any Passage that I did not perfectly understand, but Print it in the Original in the Margin; that I might have an opportunity of being informed by the Learned; and they might collate it with other Copies. But to guess once at his Sense; the First that I should chuse should be this. *I will contain as long as it is possible; if nothing will do, I must apply Caustics.* He wrote forthwith to *Moawiyah* in *Syria* and *Abu Musa* at *Cusab*. *Abu Musa* satisfied him that all the *Cusians* were intirely at his Service; but sent him at the same time a Catalogue of those who came in of their own accord at first;

⁷ *Alcánil*, by *Ebno'l Athir*, MS. *Pocock*. N. 137.

and

and those that afterwards of course followed the Majority. *Moawiyah* did not vouchsafe to give him one word of Answer to all his Messages ; till about three Months after *Othman's* Death, he called a Messenger and delivered him a Letter sealed up with this Subscription ; *From Moawiyah to Ali*. Then giving him private Instructions, he sent him away to *Medinah*, and *Ali's* Messenger along with him, whom he had detained all this while. He went into *Medinah*, according to his Directions, in the Evening, (when he was like to be seen by most People ; for in those hot Countries the Streets are most frequented in the cool of the Day) and carried the Packet aloft upon a Staff. The People who were well enough Apprised of *Moawiyah's* Disaffection to *Ali*, thronged after him with listening Ears, earnestly expecting the Contents of his Message. When *Ali* opened the Letter it was a meer Blank, not so much as one word written in it, which he rightly understood as a Token of the utmost Contempt and Defiance. Then asking the Messenger what News ; he was answered, that there were no less than sixty thousand Men in Arms under *Othman's* Shirt, which was set up as a Standard upon the Pulpit of *Damascus*. *Ali* asked whether or no they required the Blood of *Othman* at his Hands ? Calling God to witness that he was not Guilty

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of it, and begging his Assistance. Then turning to ³ *Ziyâd* who sat by him, he told him that there must of necessity be a War in *Syria*; which *Ziyâd* soon communicated to the People. *Ali* did all that in him lay to Encourage them, and wrote circular Letters round about to all the Provinces, to demand their Assistance.

Whilst he was making this Preparation, he was informed of the Revolt of *Telha*, *Zobéir* and *Ayesha*, who had formed a terrible Conspiracy against him at *Meccah*. For all the Male-content, particularly those of the House of *Ommiyah*, which was *Othman's* Family, joined to the cashiered Governors; and having their Prophet's Widow at the head of them, who declared her self openly against *Ali*, gathered together considerable Forces, and resolved upon a War. ⁴ *Telha* and *Zobéir* had acquainted them at *Meccah*, in what an unsettled Condition *Ali's* Affairs were at *Medinah*, which induced *Ayesha* to perswade them to go thither, and strike at the very Root. Others were of Opinion that it was best to join the *Syrians*: But upon Consideration that *Moâwiyah* alone was sufficient to secure that part of the Country, and besides that *Telha* had a good Interest at *Basorah*, they resolved upon that Expedition; and accordingly

³ This was *Ziyâd Ben Hentelah* of *Arabia Fœlix*. ⁴ *Al-câmil* MS. *Pocock* N. 137.

caused this Proclamation to be made about the Streets of Meccah: *The Mother of the Faithful*, and Telha, and Zobéir are going in Person to Basorah. *Whosoever therefore is desirous of strengthening the Religion, and Fighting voluntarily to Revenge the Death of Othman, if he hath no Convenience of Riding let him come.* They mounted Six Hundred Volunteers upon the like Number of Camels. They went out of Meccah about Nine Hundred or a Thousand strong; and the People joined them in their March till they were about three Thousand. ^s Menbab had presented Ayesha with a Camel, whose Name was *Alasfar*, which in the Arabick Language signifies *the Army*. It cost him an Hundred Pieces. There is no certainty as to the Value of the Arabick Coins. As near as I can guess, I should take one of those Pieces of Gold to be worth almost half a Guinea of our Money; according to which Computation, *Ayesha's* Camel cost about Fifty Pounds. Mounted upon this Camel in a Litter she headed the Forces in their March from Meccah towards Basorah. As they were upon the Road they came to a Rivulet called *Jowâb*, on the side of which there was a Village of the same Name. All the Dogs of the Village came running out in a Body, and fell a barking at *Ayesha*; who thereupon imme-

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* *Abulpheda*. MS, *Pocock* Num. 303.

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diately asked what was the Name of the Place in a great surprize. Being informed that it was called *Jowâb*; she quoted that Versicle of the *Alcoran*, which is frequently made use of in Cases of imminent Danger, *'We are resigned to God, and to him we have Recourse.* Declaring that she would not stir a step further; that she had heard the Prophet say when he was Travelling with his Wives; *I wish I had known it, and they should have Lodged within the barking of the Dogs of Jowâb.* ² Besides that he had told her formerly that one of his Wives should at some time or other be barked at by the Dogs of this Place: That she ought to take care of it, because she would find her self in a bad Condition, and in very great Danger. ³ Hereupon she struck her Camel upon the Leg to make him kneel, in order to alight, and resolved to stay there all Night. *Telha* and *Azzobêir* could not tell what to make of this Whimsy; and knowing of what Importance it was for them to precipitate their March; as having very good Reason to think that *Ali* would not be long after them, told her, and subordinated Fifty Witnesses to swear it, that it was a Mistake of the Guide, and that that Place had never been called by any such Name. But all to no purpose, she

² *Alcoran* Chap. 11. 151. ² Dr. *Herbelot* in voce *Ali*.
³ *Abulpheda*.

would not stir; at last one of them cried out, *Quick, quick, yonder comes Ali*; upon which they all immediately scampered, and made the best of their way to *Basorah*.

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⁴ The Historians say, That this was the first solemn and publick Lye that was ever told since the beginning of *Mahometism*; whether it be so or not, is not so very material; this is most certain that they who made it, found their Account in it, for it conveyed them with incredible Speed to *Basorah*.

⁵ *Othman*, who was *Ali's* Governor in that Place, was able to make but a weak Resistance. After a Skirmish in which he lost Forty of his Men, he was taken Prisoner. They tore his Beard and Eye-brows out by the Roots, and after a short Confinement dismissed him.

⁶ One of our Authors is a little more particular. He says, that *Ayesha* wrote to *Othman* at *Basorah*, and to the rest of the Provinces, exciting them to Revenge the Death of *Othman*; magnifying his good Qualities; and applauding (as she always had done since his Death) the Sincerity of his Repentance, and the Barbarity of the Murder: Inveighing against his Enemies, as if they had broke through and trampled upon every thing that was Sacred. *Othman* sent two Messengers to her. She gave them a Hearing,

⁴ Dr. *Herbelot*. ⁵ This was *Othman Ben Haniph*. ⁶ *Ebnol Athir*.

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and answered them in such like Terms. When they returned and made their Report, the *Basorians* were in Confusion. *Othman*, a helpless timorous Man, dissuaded them from enterprising any thing till the Arrival of the Emperor of the Faithful, and having substituted *Ammár* in his Room, withdrew to his own House. *Ammár* called the Men to Arms, and went to the Mosque to hold a Consultation. One of them stood up and said, *If these People come hither out of Fear, they are come out of a Country where a Bird may be safe. If they make enquiry after the Blood of Othman, we did not kill Othman: Wherefore take my Advice, and send them back to the Place from whence they came.* Then another rose up and said; *Either they suspect us guilty of the Murther of Othman; or they come to ask our Assistance against those that did Murther him, whether belonging to us or not.* This Orator had no sooner spoke, but some of the Company threw Dust in his Face; by which *Ammár* perceived that they had a Faction in *Basorah* which much discouraged him. In the mean time, *Ayesha* advancing nearer, the *Basorians* went out to meet her; and they that were so inclined went over to her. They had a Debate: *Telha* began first, and harangued the People in the praise of *Othman*; he was seconded by *Zobéir*, who was succeeded by *Ayesha*. When she

she had uttered what she had to say with her loud shrill Voice, the Company was divided, some said she had spoken right, the opposite Party gave them the Lie : Till at last they came to throwing the Gravel and Pebbles in one anothers Faces. Which when *Ayesha* perceived she alighted ; and one of the *Arabs* made up to her and said ; *O Mother of the Faithful ! The murdering of Othman was a thing of less Moment, than thy coming out from thy House upon this cursed Camel. Thou hadst a Veil and a Protection from God ; but thou hast rent the Veil, and set at nought the Protection. The same Persons that are now Witnesses of thy quarrelling here will also be Witnesses of thy Death. If thou comest to us of thy own Accord, return back to thy own House ; if thou comest hither by Force, call for Assistance.* At the same time a young Man came up to *Telba* and *Zobéir*, and told them he perceived they had brought their *Mother* along with them, and asked them whether or no they had not brought their *Wives* too ? All this was to reproach *Ayesha* for her Impudence, in engaging her self in this Expedition. At last they drew their Swords, and fought till Night parted them, The next Day they fought again ; in which Skirmish most were killed on *Othman's* side, and a great many Wounded on both sides. When they grew weary of Fighting they began

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to Parley ; and agreed upon this Article : That a Messenger should be sent to *Medinab* to enquire whether *Telba* and *Zobéir* came into the Inauguration of *Ali* Voluntarily or by Compulsion. For there lay the whole Difficulty. If they came in Voluntarily, all the *Muslemans* would have treated them as Rebels : If by Compulsion, their Party thought they could justify their standing by them. When the Messenger arrived at *Medinab*, and delivered his Errand, they were all silent for a while. At last *Asámab* stood up and said that they were compelled. His saying so had like to have cost him his Life ; if a Friend of his, a Man of Authority among them, had not taken him by the Hand and led him Home. To whom *Asámab* said, he did not think it to be a Matter of such Importance as now he perceived it was. As soon as *Ali* heard this News, he wrote to *Othman*, and taxed the weakness of his Conduct ; telling him that *Ayesha*, *Telba* and *Zobéir* had not rejected or set themselves in opposition to a *Party*, but to the whole Body of the People. That if nothing less than the deposing him would satisfy them, they were altogether without Excuse : But if they had any other Proposals to make, they might be considered on both sides. While these Matters were transacting at *Medinab*, *Ayesha's* Party sent to *Othman* to come out. Who answered that their Demand

was

was not conformable to the Agreement, which was to stay for an Answer from *Medinah*. Notwithstanding which, *Telba* and *Zobéir*, resolved to omit no favourable Opportunity, took the Advantage of a tempestuous Night, and got into the *Mosque* ; where after a Skirmish, in which about Forty of *Othman's* Men were killed, he was himself seized, and word sent to *Ayesha* to know which way she would please to dispose of him. The first Sentence she pronounced was Death ; but upon one of her Women saying to her, *I adjure thee by God and the Companions of the Apostle do not kill him* ; that Sentence was changed into forty Stripes, and Imprisonment.

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We now leave *Ayesha*, *Telba* and *Zobéir* in the Possession of *Basorah*, taking the Suffrages of the People for themselves, and look back to *Medinah*. Where *Ali* made a Speech to the People, having first (as is always their Custom) given due Praise and Thanks to God ; in which he said, *The latter end of this Affair will not be rectified by any other means than those by which it was begun ; wherefore help God, and he will help you, and direct your Affairs*. But this is the Case always when there is a strong Competition ; most People love to stand Neuter, and act the part of Spectators, till they see on which side the Scale will turn, rather than expose themselves

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to apparent Danger. ¹ Though *Ali* was exceedingly well beloved, and they knew very well that he was fairly Elected; yet all his Eloquence, though he was allowed to be the best Orator in that Age, was not sufficient to move his Audience to stir in good Earnest. Which ² *Ziyád* perceiving, he stept to *Ali* of his own accord, and said, "Let whosoever will hold back, we will be forward." Then stood up two of the Religious, *Helpers*, Doctors of the Law, and pronounced this Sentence. *Albúcm*, That is, *the Decision is this.* THE IMAN OTHMAN MASTER OF THE TWO TESTIMONIES DID NOT DYE BY THE MASTER OF THE TWO TESTIMONIES. That is in short, *Ali is not guilty of the Death of Othman.* By the two Testimonies they mean the two Articles of their Faith, *There is but one God, Mahomet is the Apostle of God.* Which Sentence formally pronounced in favour of *Ali* was a mighty inducement to them to engage in his Quarrel. One of the ³ *Ansars* said to *Ali*, *The Apostle of God, upon whom be Peace, put me on this Sword: Which I have sheathed a long while; but now it is high time to draw it against these wicked Men who are always deceiving the People.* The Mother of *Sal-*

¹ *Ebno'l Athir.* ² *Ziyád* the son of *Hantelah.* ³ That was *Abu Kotádab.*

mah said, O Emperor of the Faithful! if it would not be a sin against God, and that thou wouldst not accept of me, I would go with thee my self; but here is my Cousin German, who, by God, is dearer to me than my own Life, let him go with thee and partake of thy Fortunes. Him *Ali* accepted, and afterwards made Governor of *Bebbrîn*. There marched with him about Nine hundred out of *Medinah*, and at first he conceived some hopes of overtaking *Ayesha* and her Company before their Arrival at *Basorah*; but being informed at a Place called *Arrâbdab* that it was in vain: He rested there to take farther Consideration.

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Thither came his Son *Hasan* to him, and told him that he had given him his Advice in three Particulars, and that now as the Consequence of his refusing it, he might expect to be murdered to Morrow without any body to help him. Upon *Ali*'s demanding what those Particulars might be; *Hasan* answered, In the first place, I advised you when *Othman* was besieged, to go out of the City, that you might not be in it when he should be killed. Then secondly, I advised you not to be inaugurated till the Ambassadors of the Tribes of the *Arabs* should come to you; and all the Provinces were come in. Last of all I advised you when this Woman and those two Men went out, to sit still at Home

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till they should be reconciled: So that if there were any Mischief done, the blame might rather be laid upon some other Person than your self. To which *Ali* answered: As to your first, if I had gone out of the City when *Othman* was besieged; that had been the way for me to have been surrounded my self. Then as to your saying that I ought not to have been inaugurated till all the Tribes came in; you ought to know that the disposal of the Government is a Privilege peculiar to the *Medinians* or *Helpers*; and we were not willing to lose it. As for your last Advice, that I should have sat still at Home after *Ayesha* and *Zobéir* were gone forth; how could I do that in these Circumstances, or who would? Would you have me lurk in a hole like a wild Beast till she is digged out? If I do not my self look after what concerns me in this Affair, and provide for my necessary Defence, who will look after it? Therefore Son, hold you your Tongue.

During his stay at *Arrábdab* he sent *Mahomet* the Son of *Abubeker*, and *Mahomet* the Son of *Jaasar* to his Friends at *Cusab* with a Letter, in which he did not so much press them to fight for him, as to come and Arbitrate between him, and those that had made a Separation from him. He told them, “ how much he preferred them to all
“ the

“ the rest of the Provinces, and what confidence
 “ he reposed in them in the time of his Extre-
 “ mity. That they should help the Religion of
 “ God, and repair to him in order to make use
 “ of such Means as might be proper for the
 “ reconciling this divided People, and making
 “ them Brethren again.” He did not neglect in
 the mean time sending to *Medinab*, from whence
 he was plentifully supplied with Horses, Arms
 and all Necessaries. In his publick Harangues
 he represented to the People “ the great Bless-
 “ ing which God had indulged them in giving
 “ them the *Religion*; whereby those Tribes were
 “ united that formerly used to reduce one ano-
 “ ther to a despicable Condition. That this Peace
 “ continued, till this Man (meaning *Othman*)
 “ fell into the Hands of this People, whom the
 “ Devil had set on work to make a Disturbance.
 “ However that it was NECESSARY that
 “ this People should be divided as other Nations
 “ had been before it; and that we must call to
 “ God to avert the present Evil.” Then turn-
 ing to his Son he said, “ Whatsoever IS is of
 “ NECESSITY. And the time will come
 “ when this People shall be divided into seven-
 “ ty three Sects; the worst of which will be
 “ that, that shall set me at nought and will not
 “ follow my Example. You have known this
 “ this and seen it; wherefore keep close to your
 “ Re-

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“ Religion, and be directed in the right way ;
“ for it is the Direction of your Prophet. Let
“ what is too hard for you alone, till you bring
“ it to the Test of the *Alcoran* : And what the
“ *Alcoran* approveth standeth to, and what it
“ disapproveth reject. Delight in God for your
“ Lord ; and in ⁹ ISLAM for your Religion ;
“ in *Mahomet* for your Prophet, and in the *Al-*
“ *coran* for your Guide and Director.”

When they were about decamping from *Ar-râbdah* for *Basôrâh* ; the Son of *Rephaa* stood up and asked him, *O Emperor of the Faithful ! What is it thou wouldest have, and whither wouldest thou carry us ?* *Ali* answered. *What I would have and intend is Peace, if they will accept of it at our Hands, if not, we will leave them alone to their Rashness, and do what is just on our Part and bear with Patience. But how, replied Rephaa, if that will not satisfy them ? Why then, says Ali, we will let them alone so long as they let us alone ; if not, the last Remedy is to defend our selves.* Upon this, one of the *Ansars* stood up, and told him, that he liked his Discourse better than his Management ; but subjoyned immediately with an Oath, *That*

⁹ That is *Mahometanism* : The Word signifies the delivering ones self up ; and with the Article *Al*, it is restrained to the signification of delivering ones self up to God.

they

they would Help God, since he had called them
HELPERs.

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Soon after there came a Party of the Tribe of *Tai* to profer their Service to him. Their Chief, whose Name was *Said*, the Son of *Obeid*, thus addressed him. *O Emperor of the Faithful! There are some Men whose Tongues are not according to their Hearts, but I do not find it so with me. I always have a Respect for thee both secretly and openly, and will fight thy Enemies wheresoever I meet them. For I look upon thee as a Person of the greatest Merit, and the most excellent Qualifications of any in the Age thou livest in. Ali gave him his Blessing (God have Mercy upon you) and told him, that he was satisfied with his Sincerity. He then removed from Arrábdah, and the Tribe of *Ajed* and some more of *Tai* profered their Service, but he said, they might go Home, for he had ⁷*Mobagerins* enough for his Purpose.*

In the mean while, *Ali* was full of Expectation of News from his two Messengers that he had sent to *Cufah*, *Abu Musa*, who, as we have before observed, had sent him Word at first, that all was well on that Side the Country, and acquainted him with the Particulars of all that concerned him there; perceiving how the Face of Things was altered on a sudden, and appre-

⁷ Flyers, or Refugees.

ALI.
An. Heg. 26.
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henfive of the Succes of *Ayefha*, *Telha* and *Zobeir* at *Basorah*; began to find himself in some sort of Suspence. So that when *Mahomet*, the Son of *Abubeker*, and *Mahomet* the Son of *Jafar*, came to *Cufah* with *Ali's* Letter, and stood up among the People according to his Command, there was a perfect Silence. It is worth observing here, that upon all such Occasions, the Way was, for all the Congregation to run to the Mosque, where every Thing was published in the Hearing of all that were present; and every one (Slaves excepted) had the Liberty of assenting or dissenting, according as he was influenced by his Prejudice or Judgment. At last in the Evening there came some of the *Hagis*, or Pilgrims, (the having been once on Pilgrimage at *Meccah*, entitles them to that Name, and procures them Reverence as long as they live) and asked *Abu Musa*, what he thought of going out? meaning to assist *Ali*. To which he gravely answered, *My Opinion to Day is different from what it was Yesterday. What you despised in Time past, hath drawn upon you what you see now, The going out, and sitting still at Home, are two Things. Sitting still at Home is the Heavenly Way. The going out, is the Way of the World. Therefore take your Choice.* None of the People took any Notice of what he said, nor returned him any Answer. But both the

Ma-

Mahometans were in a Rage, and gave him reproachful Language. To which he answered with an Oath, that the Inauguration of *Othman* hung still both over his own Neck and their Master's (meaning *Ali*) and they were resolved not to engage themselves, unless compelled by absolute Necessity, till they had got their Hands clear of the Murderers of *Othman*, wheresoever they were. Wherefore, adds he, you may both get you back to *Ali* and tell him so.

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⁶ *Ali* was then advanced as far *Dûlkbâr*, where his Governor *Othman* came to wait upon him, and told him, that he had sent him to *Basorah* with a Beard, but he was come back without one. *Thy Sufferings*, says *Ali*, *are meritorious. All Mankind were satisfied in the Choice of two of my Predecessors, who managed agreeably both to the Written Law and the Traditional. Then a third presided over them, to whom they submitted. At last they chose me; and Telha and Zobêir came unto the Election, but did not stand to their Word. What I wonder at, is their voluntary Submission to Abubeker, Omar and Othman, and their Opposition to me! But by God, they shall both know, that I am not one jot inferior to any of my Predecessors.*

⁷ As soon as *Ali* had received *Abu Musa's* Answer; he dispatched *Alashtar*, (a Man of

⁶ *Abu'lpheda.*

⁷ *Ebno'l Athîr.*

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Resolution, and fit to be made use of in Cases of Difficulty) together with *Ebn Abbbás* to *Cufa*, with Instructions at large to make use of their own Discretion in rectifying whatsoever they should find amiss. When they had delivered their Errand, and desired the Assistance of the *Cusians*, *Abu Musa* made this Speech to them.

“⁸ Friends, the Companions of the Apostle of God, upon whom be Peace, know more of God and of his Apostle, than those who have not conversed with him. And you have a Right over us. I give you this Advice. It is my Opinion, that you should not assume to your selves the Authority of God, nor make War against God. Let those that are come along with you from *Medinah*, return thither again, till they be all agreed; they know best who is fit to be trusted.” *For this Disturbance is such an one, (it is a Sentence of Mahomet’s) as he that sleepeth in it is better than he that is awake; and he that is awake better than he that sitteth; and he that sitteth better than he that standeth; and he that standeth better than he that walketh on Foot; and he that walketh on Foot better than he that rideth.* “Sheath your Swords and take the Heads off of your Lances; cut your Bow Strings, and receive him

⁸ *Ebno’l Atbir.*

“ that is injured into your Houses till this Business is made up, and the Disturbance ceased.”

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Ebn Abbâs and *Alashtar* returning to *Ali* with this News, he last of all sent his eldest Son *Hafsan*, and ⁴*Ammâr* along with him: *Abu Musa* received *Hafsan*, with Respect; but when they came into the Mosque to debate the Matter, he opposed it with the same Vigour that he had done all along before, repeating that Saying of *Mahomet*'s (which he affirmed to have had from his own Mouth) “ That there should be a Sedition, in which he that sat should be better “ than him that stood, &c.” *Ammâr* took him up briskly, and told him, that the Apostle directed that Speech to him, who was better sitting than standing at any Time. Still *Abu Musa* persisted in exerting his utmost to hinder them from complying with *Ali*'s Proposals. When the People began to be in a Tumult, *Zeid*, the So of *Sauchân*, stood up and pulled out a Letter from *Ayesha*, commanding him either to stay at Home, or else come to her Assistance: Together with another to the *Cusians* to the same Effect. Having read them both to the People, he said, SHE was commanded to stay at Home in her House, and WE ⁵ to fight till there should be no Sedition. Now she has commanded

⁴ *Ammâr*, the Son of *Yâser*.
Alcoran.

⁵ It is a Text in the

ALI. *us to do her Part, and bath taken ours upon her self.* This provoked the opposite Party, who reproached him for reflecting upon the *Mother of the Faithful*. The Debate grew very warm on both Sides, till at last *Hasan*, the Son of *Ali*, rose up and said, *Hearken* to the Request of your Emperor, and help us in this Calamity which is fallen both upon you and us. Thus saith the Emperor of the Faithful. Either I do Injury my self, or else I suffer Injury. If I suffer Injury God will help me: If I do Injury he will take Vengeance upon me. By God, *Telha* and *Zobêir* were the first that inaugurated me, and the first that prevaricated: *Have I discovered any covetous Inclination, or perverted Justice? Wherefore come on,* ⁷ and command that which is Good, and forbid that which is Evil. This moved the Audience, and the Heads of the Tribes spoke one after another, telling the People, that since they had given their Allegiance to this Man, and he had done them the Honour to send several Messages to them before, and afterwards his Son, to make them Judges and and Arbitrators in an Affair of such Importance; that it was highly requisite for them to comply with such a reasonable Demand, and go to his Assistance. *Hasan* told them, that he was going back to his Father, and they that thought fit

⁷ It is a Text that frequently occurs in the *Alcoran*.

might go along with him, and the rest follow by Water. There came over to him near nine Thousand in all, six thousand two hundred by Land, and two thousand four hundred by Water. Some say, that *Ali* had sent *Ashtar* and *Ammar* along with him after his Son *Hasan* to *Cusab*, and whilst they were debating it in the Mosque, and every one intent upon the Issue, *Ashtar* took a Party of Men and seized the Castle by Surprize; then having ordered some of *Abu Musa's* Men, whom he found there, to be severely banged, he sent them back with this lamentable News to their Master *Abu Musa*, who was speeching it with great Vehemency against the Supply. This Management of *Alashtar*, made *Abu Musa* appear so ridiculous and contemptible, that if *Alashtar* had not interposed and prevented it, his Goods would immediately have been plundered by the Mob.

Ali was very easy upon the Accession of these new Recruits, and went forwards to meet them and make them welcome. When they came up to him, and said, *You Cusians were always Men of distinguished Valour; you conquered the Kings of Persia, and dispersed their Forces till you took Possession of their Inheritance. You have both protected the weak ones among your selves, and afforded your Assistance to your Neighbours. I have called you hither to be Witnesses between us and*

ALI.
An. Heg. 36.
capit. jun. 29.
A. C. 656.

ALI.
An. Heg. 36.
æpit Jun. 29.
A. C. 655.

our Brethren of Baforah: If they return, it is what we desire: If they shall persist we will heal them with gentle Usage, till they fall upon us injuriously. We on our Part will omit nothing that may by any Means contribute to an Accommodation, which we much prefer to the Desolation of War.

Ayesha and her Party, upon this News, began to be in some Perplexity at *Baforah*. They had very frequent Consultations, and seemed now to be in a despairing Condition. Messages passed backwards and forwards in order to compromise the Matter; and it came so far, that *Ali*, *Telka* and *Zobéir* had several Interviews, walking about together in the Sight of both the Armies, so that every one expected that there would have been a Peace concluded. *Ali's* Army consisted of thirty thousand Men all experienced Soldiers, and if that of his Enemies exceeded his in Number, yet it was composed of such as they could get; besides that, they had never a General to command them, that was any ways comparable to *Ali*. In one of their Conferences he reproached their Infidelity, and put them in Mind of the Judgments of God, who would infallibly take Vengeance upon their Perfidiousness. He asked *Zobéir*, if he did not remember how *Mahomet* had asked him once, if he did not love his dear Son *Ali*; and he having

answered yes, that *Mahomet* replied, Notwithstanding this, there will come a Day, when you shall rise up against him, and be the Occasion of a great many Miseries both to him and all the Muslemans.

Zobéir told him, that he remembered it perfectly well, and that if he had recollected it before, he would never have carried Things to that Extremity. It is said, that upon this Hint he declined fighting with *Ali*; but that having acquainted *Ayesha* with the Circumstances, that Woman was so envenomed against him, that she would not upon any Terms, give the least Ear to an Accommodation. Others say, that his Son *Abdollah* gave him a Turn, by asking him, whether or no he was afraid of *Ali*'s Colours? *Zobéir* answering, No, but that he was sworn to the contrary: *Abdollah* bad him expiate his Oath, which he did, ⁷ by giving a Slave his Liberty, and forthwith put himself in a Condition of fighting against *Ali*.

The two Armies lay in Order of Battel on their Arms opposite to one another. There happened some Disturbance in the Night, the Author of which is uncertain. When *Telba* and *Zobéir* heard it, upon Enquiry into the Cause of it, they were answered that the *Cusians* had fallen upon them in the Night. They said, they

⁷ *Alcoran*, Chap.V.

ALI.
An. Heg. 36
cepit Jun. 29.
A. C. 655.

ALI.
An. Heg. 36.
capit Jun. 29.
A.C. 655.

knew very well that *Ali* would never put up the Matter without Bloodshed: And *Ali*, upon his first hearing it, said the same of them. Thus they were of Necessity drawn to a Battle. *Ayesha*, to give Life and Courage to her Friends, mounted upon her great Camel, was carried up and down in the Battel, riding in a Litter of the Shape of a Cage.

Upon which Occasion, the ¹ Day whereon this bloody Battel was fought, is called, the *Day of the Camel*; and the Men that were engaged on that Side, *the People of the Camel*. In the Heat of the Battel, when the Victory began to incline towards *Ali*, *Merwân* said to him, 'Tis but a little while ago since *Telha* was amongst the Murderers of *Othman*, and now he is so attached to Worldly Grandeur, that he appears amongst those that seek to revenge his Blood; and with those Words let fly an Arrow and wounded him in the Leg. His Horse threw him. He called for Help and said, *O God! take Vengeance upon me for Othman, according to thy Will!* Perceiving his Boot full of Blood, he ordered his Man to take him up behind him, who conveyed him into a House in *Basorah* where he Died. But just before he saw one of *Ali's* Men, and asked him if he belonged to the Emperor of the faithful. Being informed that he

‡ *Ebno'l Athîr. D'Herbelot in Ali.*

did ;

did ; Give me then, said he, your Hand that I may put mine in it ; and by this Action renew the Oath of Fidelity which I have already made to Ali. The Words were no sooner out of his Mouth but he expired immediately : When Ali heard it he said, God would not call him to Heaven till he had blotted out his first Breach of his Word by this last Protestation of Fidelity.

ALI.
An. Heg. 36.
capit. Jun. 29.
A. C. 655.

⁴Mircond writes, that Zobéir being informed that Ammâr Jasser was in Ali's Camp ; and knowing that Mahomet had formerly said that he was a Person that was always for Justice and what was right, withdrew himself out of the Battel, and took the Road towards Meccah. Being come as far as a Valley which is crossed by a Rivulet called Sabaa, he met with Hanaph Ben Kais who was Encamped there with all his Men, attending the Success of the Battel, in order to join himself with the Conqueror.

⁵Hanaph knew who he was at a Distance, and said to his Men, Is there no body can bring me any Tidings of Zobéir ? One of them, whose Name was Amrou Ben Jarmuz went off immediately and came up to him. Zobéir bad him keep his Distance. But after some Discourse, growing into greater Confidence of him he cried out Salât, that is, To Prayers. (The Hour

⁴ Mircond. D'Herbelot. Ebns'l Athîr.
Athîr. D'Herbelot.

⁵ Ebno'l

ALI.

An. Heg. 36.
 cepit Jun. 29.
 A. C. 656.

of Prayer being then come) *Salât* said *Amrou* ; and as *Zobéir* was prostrating himself, took his opportunity and struck his Head off at one Blow with his Sabre ; and carried it to *Ali*. When *Ali* saw the Head, he let fall some Tears and said ; Go wretched Villain and carry this good News to *Ben Sasiab* in Hell. *Amrou* was so moved with these Words, that laying aside all Respect he said to him, *You are the ill Destiny of all the Muslemans ; if one delivers you from any of your Enemies, you immediately denounce Hell to him : And if a Man kills any one of yours, he becomes instantly a Companion of the Devil*. His Passion increasing into Rage and Despair, he drew his Sword and ran himself thorough.

So long as *Ayesha's* Camel stood upon his Leggs, the hottest of the Battel was about him. *Tábari* says that there were Threescore and ten Mens Hands cut off that held his Bridle. *Ayesha's* Litter was stuck so full of Arrows and Javelins that it looked like a Porcupine. At last the Camel was Hamstringed, and *Ayesha* was forced to lye there till all was over. *Ali* having got an entire Victory, came to her and asked her how she did. Some Historians say that there was some reproachful Language exchanged between them. However he treated her civilly, and dismissed her handsomely with a very good

2 Equi-

² Equipage, and commanded his two Sons *Hafan* and *Hosein* to wait upon her a Day's Journey. He confined her to her House at *Medinah*, and laid a Restraint upon her not to intermeddle any any more with Affairs of State. She went to *Meccah*, and staid out the time of the Pilgrimage there, after which she returned to *Medinah*. As for the Spoils *Ali* was for dividing them among the Heirs of his Men that were killed, which did not exceed a Thousand. Then constituting *Abdollah Ben Abbàs* his Lieutenant over *Basorah*, went to *Cusab*, where he established the Seat of his Government or Chaliphate.

ALI.
An. Heg. 36.
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³ This compleat Victory rendered *Ali* exceeding powerful. He is now Master of *Irâck*, *Ægypt*, *Arabia*, *Persia* and *Chorasan*. So that there was none left that could give him the least Disturbance but *Moawiyah* and the *Syrians* under his Command. *Ali* seemed not to be apprehensive of any Molestation from them after such great Success, and sent a Messenger to him to come in. *Moawiyah* put off the Messenger without giving him any satisfactory Answer, till *Amrou* the Son of *Ali* who was then in *Palestine* could come to him. *Amrou*, to his great satisfaction, found the *Syrians* very eager to Revenge the Blood of *Othman*, and did what in him lay to spur them on. Upon this, *Amrou* and *Moa-*

² *Abu'lpheda. Rejeb. Anno 36.*

³ *Abulpheda.*

ALI.
An. Heg. 36.
cepit Jun. 29.
A. C. 656.

wiyah resolved to stand it out to the last against *Ali*, *Amrou* having first stipulated for himself, that in case of Success he should have the Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, which he had Conquered in the Reign of *Omar*. ⁶ This agreed to, *Amrou* in the Presence of all the Army took the Oath of Allegiance to *Moawiyah*, acknowledging him to be lawful ⁷ *Chaliph* and Prince of the *Muslemans*: This Action which had been concerted between them two, was followed by the Acclamations of the People, who unanimously took the same Oath.

As soon as *Ali* was apprised of these Commotions in *Syria*, he made use of all manner of gentle means, to reduce the Rebels to a Sense of their Duty. But perceiving that the People of that large Province had unanimously declared against him, he begun to fear that it would be to no purpose, to set on foot any further Negotiation; and marched with an Army of Ninety thousand Men towards that part of the Country. ⁸ Just upon his Entrance into the Confines of *Syria*, he was obliged to Encamp in a Place where he wanted Water.

Not far from his Camp, there was an Hermitage under Ground, the Hermit whereof, who was a Christian, came and offered himself

⁶ *D' Herbelot*. ⁷ *Abulpheragius* says that they did not swear to him by the Title of *Chaliph*, but only of *Emir*.

⁸ *D' Herbelot*.

to him. *Ali* enquired of him, if there was never a Spring within the Neighbourhood; the Hermit told him that there was nothing but a Cistern, which had hardly three Buckets of Water in it. *Ali* answered, I know however that some Ancient Prophets of the People of *Israel* have made their Abode here, and that they digged a Pit here. The Hermit said, he had been informed by some Ancient Men, that there was one indeed that was shut up, and no body knew where it was digged; but that the Tradition of the Country was, that no body could find it, and open it, but a Prophet, or one sent by a Prophet. *Ali* was not long a finding it, and ordering them to dig in a Place, which he pointed out, found a Stone of a vast bigness that lay over it, which he instantly removed, with the greatest ease imaginable.

The Hermit surprized at this sight, embraced *Ali's* Knees, and would never leave him after. Besides, he presented him with an old Parchment, which he said was written by the Hand of *Simeon*, the Son of *Safa*, (that is *Simon Cephas*) one of the greatest Apostles of *Jesus Christ*; wherein there was an account given of the coming of the last Prophet; the Arrival of his lawful Heir and Successor, and the miraculous discovery of this Well.

Ali, after having given Thanks to God, and taken Water sufficient for his Army, continued

his

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his March towards *Seffein*, a Place between *Irâk* and *Syria*, where the Enemies Army was posted, consisting of Fourscore Thousand Men. At last, both the Armies advancing, they came in fight of one another, in the last Month of the Thirty sixth Year of the *Flight of Mahomet*.

¹ The first Month of the next Year was spent, without doing any thing but sending Messengers backwards and forwards, in order to an Accommodation between them to no purpose. But upon the entrance of the next ² Month they began to fight in Parties, without running the hazard of a general Engagement. It is reported, that in the space of One hundred and ten Days, there were no less than Ninety Skirmishes between them. That the Number of the slain on *Moawiyah's* side, was Five and forty Thousand, and that on *Ali's* ³ Five and twenty Thousand, Six and twenty of which had been present at the Battel of *Beder*, and were honoured with the Title of *Sababah*, that is, the Companions of the Prophet. *Ali* had commanded his Men never to begin the Battel first, but stay till they gave the Onset, nor kill any Man that had turned his Back, nor take any of their Plunder, nor use any indecent Behaviour towards the Women. Nor were *Moawiyah* and *Amrou* wanting

¹ An. Heg. 37. cœpit Jun. 18. A. C. 657. ² *Saphar*.

³ *D'Herbelot* says, Five Thousand, which must be a mistake.

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An. Heg. 37.
cæpit Jun. 18.
A. C. 657.

on their side, in expressing their concern for the Effusion of the Blood of the *Muslemans*; especially when *Ammar Ben Jassar*, *Ali's* General of the Horse, was killed. He was about Ninety Years of Age, and had been in three several Engagements with *Mahomet* himself. He lived revered, and died lamented by all. Do you see, said *Moawiyah*, at what a rate the People expose their Lives upon our account? See! says *Amrou*, would to God I had died twenty Years ago. Upon the Death of *Ammar*, *Ali* took Twelve thousand chosen Men, and made such an Impression upon *Moawiyah's* Army, that all the Ranks of it were broken. Then *Ali* called out to *Moawiyah*, *How long shall the People lose their Lives between us; come hither: I challenge you to appeal to the Decision of God: And which soever of us two kills his Man, has all entire to himself.* Whereupon *Amrou* said to *Moawiyah*, *Your Cousin has made you a fair Proffer.* *Moawiyah* said it was not fair, because that *Ali* knew that no Man ever came out against him, but he killed him. *Amrou* told him that his Refusal would look dishonourably. *Moawiyah* answered, *You have a mind to enjoy the Government your self, after I am gone.*

⁷ The last Battel they fought at *Seffein* continued all Night to the great disadvantage of the

⁷ *Abulpheda.*

ALI.
An. Heg. 37.
cepit Jun. 18.
A. C. 657.

Syrians. Alashtar pushed them back to their Camp, and *Ali* supported him. It was very near a compleat Victory, when *Amrou* bethought himself of this Stratagem. He sends for *Moawiyah* in great haste, and advises him to hoist up the *Alcorans* upon the Points of their Lances, and cry out; *This is the Book that ought to decide all our Differences; this is the Book of God between us and you.* This Stratagem did not fail of the desired Success; for as soon as the *Irakians*, in whom the chief Strength of *Ali's* Army consisted, saw this, they threw down their Arms, and said to *Ali*, Will you not answer to the Book of God? To which *Ali* answered, As you are Men of Truth and Honour, go on and fight your Enemy, for *Amrou* and *Moawiyah* have no Relation to Religion nor the *Alcoran*. Alas for you! I know them better than you do; By God they have not put up these *Alcorans*, but with a design to trick us. They answered, that should not hinder them from being determined by the Book of God. That is it, said *Ali*, which I have been fighting to bring them to, but they have rebelled against God and his Commandment. In short, they threatened not only to desert him but to deliver him into the Hands of his Enemies, if he did not sound a Retreat: And some of the ⁹ Sectaries, (an Enthusiastick People, that

refuse Obedience to their Superiors, both in things Sacred and Civil,) declared to him, that they would serve him as they had done the Son of *Affân*, that is *Othman*, whom they murdered. So that *Ali* was forced to call off *Alashtar*, who came back with great Reluctancy, and not under three or four Messengers; grieved at the Heart, to see such a glorious Victory wrested out of his hands by such a Stratagem.

ALI.
An. Heg. 37.
cæpit Jul. 18.
A. C. 657.

As soon as the Battle was over, *Moawiyah* being asked, what was the meaning of that Action, answered, That the Difference might be put to the Arbitration of two Persons, who should determine it according to the true Sense of the *Alcoran*, and the ^s Tradition of the Apostle. *Ashaath*, the Son of *Kâis*, one of those that had the greatest Credit among the Soldiers of *Irâk*, and who was suspected to have been corrupted by *Moawiyah*, asked *Ali*, how he approved of this Expedient. *Ali* answered him coldly, *He that is not at Liberty cannot give his Advice. It belongs to you to manage this Affair according as you shall think fit among your selves.* The Person that they nominated for *Ali* was *Abu Musa Alâshari*, a good honest well meaning Man, but exceedingly simple. *Ali* did not approve of him, because he had formerly been drawn aside, and forsaken his Interest. He had rather have had

ALI.
An. Heg. 37.
cæpit Jul. 18.
A. C. 657.

Ben Abbâs, but was answered, that he was his Cousin-German, and they would have none but such as should deal impartially between him and *Moarwiyah*. He next nominated *Alashtar*, but they were resolved he should accept of *Abu Musa*. *Moarwiyah*, on his Part, nominated *Amrou* the Son of *Aafi*, deservedly reputed the quickest witted Man of the Age. These two Referees took a Security signed by *Ali* and *Moarwiyah*, and both the Armies, for themselves and their Families, that all should contribute their Assistance, to ratify and confirm what they should agree upon, which was to be determined ² the next *Ramadân*. This agreed upon, *Ali* retired to *Cufah*, and *Moarwiyah* to *Damascus*, leaving each of them the Command of their several Armies to one of their Generals, and the Authority of Things relating to Religion in the Hands of a particular *Imâm*. But as soon as *Ali* came to *Cufah*, Twelve Thousand of those that could read the *Alcoran* reproached him with his base Submission to this Accommodation, as having out of Fear of temporal Calamity submitted to the Determination of Men, when the *Alcoran* expressly says, that *Judgement belongeth to God alone*.

Eight Months after the Battel of *Seffein*, the two Arbitrators met in a ³ Place which lieth be-

² This Agreement was signed on *Wednesday* the 13th of the Month *Saphar*, in the Year 37. ³ *Dumat al jondel*.

tween *Meccah*, *Cufah*, and *Syria*. There came along with them several of the *Sahabah*, or Companions of the Prophet. *Ebn Abbas* bad *Abu Musa* remember this, whatsoever else he forgot; that *Ali* had no Blemish to render him incapable of the Government, nor *Moawiyah* any Virtue to qualify him for it. *Amrou*, who knew very well the Genius of his Partner, treated him with the utmost Civility and Respect, till at last he had insinuated himself so far into him, as to make him believe, that it would be altogether impracticable ever to bring Things to an Accommodation, without deposing both these Competitors, and leaving the Choice of a Third to the People. This important Article once fixed, they erected a Tribunal between both the Armies, from which each of the Umpires was publickly to declare his Opinion. *Abu Musa* would have had *Amrou* gone up first, but he acknowledged so many Reasons why he ought to give him the Preference, that at last he overpersuaded him.

ALI.
An. Heg. 37.
capit. Jun. 18.
A. C. 657.

Then *Abu Musa* going up first, pronounced these Words with a loud Voice: *I depose Ali and Moawiyah from the Chaliphate (or Government) to which they pretend, after the the same Manner as I take this Ring from my Finger.* Having made this Declaration, he immediately came down. Then *Amrou* went up and said, *You have heard*
how

ALI. *how Abu Musa has for his Part deposed Ali; as*
 An. Heg. 37. *for my Part I depose him too, and I give the Chali-*
 caput Jun. 18. *phate to Moawiyah, and invest him with it after*
 A.C. 657. *the same Manner as I put this Ring upon my Fin-*
ger, and this I do with so much the more Justice,
because he is Othman's Heir and Avenger, and the
worthiest of all Men to succeed him.

After this Publication, *Ali's* Party, ashamed and confounded at this unexpected Success, began to complain grievously of *Abu Musa*. He for his own Part accused *Amrou* of not having performed the Agreement made between them. From Complaints they came to ill Language, and in short, *Abu Musa*, ashamed of his Arbitration, and justly fearing *Ali's* Displeasure, besides, not thinking himself safe in the Army, took his Flight, and retired to *Meccah*. This *Abu Musa* was celebrated for the most harmonious Voice that ever was heard; it is said, that his Common Discourse was perfect Melody.

The *Syrians* went back to *Moawiyah*, and wished him Joy: And from that Time *Ali's* Interest began to decline, and *Moawiyah's* increased daily. The two opposite Parties not only cursed one another, but carried the Matter so far as to come to a mutual solemn Excommunication, which was always pronounced when they made any Harangue to the People in the Mosque, and continued a long time between the

the House of *Ali* and that of *Ommiyah*, of which were *Othman* and *Moawiyah*.

A L I.
An. Heg. 37.
cæpit Jun. 18.
A. C. 657.

Before we proceed any further, we must here observe, that when the Treaty of Peace that followed the Suspension of Arms between *Ali* and *Moawiyah* was a writing, the Secretary began with these Words. *Ali, Chief and Commander, General of the Muslemans, agrees to a Peace with Moawiyah upon these following Terms. Moawiyah* having read these first Words, said, Certainly I should be a very wicked Man indeed, if I should make War upon him, whom I acknowledge to be the Chief, and Commander General of the Faithful.

9 Upon this, *Amrou Ebno'l Afi* said, that it was absolutely necessary to blot out that Title of Chief, or *Emperor of the Faithful. Abnaf* the Son of *Kais*, addressing himself to *Ali*, said, that he ought by no means to suffer himself to be deprived of that Title. *Ali* told him, that when he was formerly Secretary to his Father-in-law *Mahomet*, he had himself drawn up Articles of Peace between him and *Sobail*, who had revolted against him. That upon his having intituled *Mahomet, Apostle and Messenger of God*; *Sobail* said to him, If I had acknowledged your Father-in-law for the Apostle and Messenger of God, I should never have had any Peace to sign with

9 *D'Herbelot. Ebno'l Athîr.*

A L I.
 An. Heg. 37.
cœpit fun. 18.
 A. C. 657.

him, for I would never have made any War. I acquainted *Mabomet* with this Difficulty, who answered me, *Make no Scruple of blotting out that Title; that doth not depend upon this Treaty, Time will discover the Truth of that; and remember, that there will come a Day when you shall find your self in the same Case.* *Ali* therefore gave his Consent, that for that Time they should omit that Title, of which his Arbitrator, *Abu Musa*, as we have seen already, solemnly deprived him. All these things were transacted in the 37th Year of the *Hegirah*, or *Flight of Mahomet*, and of our Saviour the 657th. As also the Revolt of the *Karegites*, or *Separatists*, who this Year made an Insurrection against *Ali*.

The Occasion of their Revolt was, that *Ali* having put his Affairs into the Hands of two Arbitrators, as we have already seen, some of the *Irakians* told him, that he had done exceeding Wrong, in referring that to the Judgment of Men, which ought to be determined by God alone. That instead of standing to the Peace that he had made, he ought to pursue his Enemies, who also were the Enemies of God, without Quarter. *Ali* answered, that having once passed his Word, he was obliged to keep it; and that in this he followed what the Law of God prescribed. These People answered him, that there was no other Judge or Arbitrator between him
 and

and *Moawiyah* but God alone : That what he had done was a Sin, and that he ought to repent of it.

A L I.
An. Heg. 37.
cæpit Jun. 18.
A. C. 657.

⁶ *Ali* remonstrated to them with a great deal of Vigour, that the Sin lay at their Door, in shewing so much Inconstancy and Stubborness. That they ought to remember, that when *Moawiyah* caused the Alcorans to be carried at the Head of the two Armies, he gave them Notice that it was only a Trick of their Enemies, yet nevertheless they had left off fighting without his Order ; and that in short, it was very injurious in them, to press him to the Breach of a Treaty, which they themselves had obliged him to sign.

The Rebels, not at all satisfied with these Reasons, chose for their Captain *Abdollah*, the Son of *Wahëb*, who appointed *Naharwan* (a Town between *Bagdad* and *Waset*, four Miles East of the River *Tigris*) for the Place of their Rendezvous. Thither came all *Ali*'s Male-contents, whereof there was a great Number from *Cusab*, *Basorah* and *Arabia*.

Ali took little Notice of them at first, his Thoughts being more taken up about *Moawiyah*, whom he considered as the much more formidable Enemy ; but being informed that they were already increased to the Number of Five

⁶ *D'Herbelot.*

ALI.

An. Heg. 38.

cœpit Jun. 8.

A. C. 658.



and twenty Thousand Men, that they Condemned all Persons as impious that did not fall in with their Sentiments, and that they had already put to Death several *Muslemans*, for refusing to comply with their Measures ; he resolved in fine to exterminate a Sect, which tended to the Subversion of the very Foundations of *Muslemanism*. However he chose rather to gain them by Gentleness, and bring them back to their Duty by good Advice ; but that means proving too weak, he employs the Forces of a considerable Army, at the head of which he presented himself to their View. Nevertheless he made use of this Artifice before he began the Battel ; namely to plant a Standard without the Camp, and make Proclamation with sound of Trumpet, that whosoever would come under it should have good Quarter ; and if any of them would retire to *Cusab*, they should there find a Sanctuary.

This Stratagem succeeded well for *Ali*. For the Army of the *Karegites* dispersed it self in a very little time of its own Accord ; and *Abdollah* the Son of *Wabeb* found himself reduced to Four Thousand Men only. However this Arch-Rebel was resolved, with this small Number of Men, to signalize his Bravery by a desperate Attempt. For he attacked *Ali*'s Army, notwithstanding the inequality of his Forces. But his Rashness was duly punished, he and all his Men were

were cut to Pieces, Nine only excepted, which which was the same Number that *Ali* had lost in all.

ALI.
An. Heg. 38.
cæpit Jun. 8.
A. C. 658.

A little before this Fight, *Ali* had foretold to his Friends what would be the Event. *You see, says he, these People who make Profession of reading the Alcoran, without observing its Commandments, they will quit the Profession which they make of their Set, as quick as Arrows fly from the Bow when they are shot off.*

This Victory, which was gained in the Thirtieth eighth Year of the *Hegirah*, having reunited all the *Arabians* under the Government of *Ali*; there remained nothing else to be done, but to reduce the *Syrians*. *Ali* was for marching against *Moawiyah* immediately after the Victory. But some of his great Men represented to him, that it would be proper to give his Army some Refreshment, that every one might make Preparation for a War, which it was plain would be more long winded than the former. *Ali* followed their Advice, and formed his Camp at *Nakilah*, not far from *Cusab*, where he made Proclamation, that during the time of his Encampment in that Place, any one that had any Business to do in Town, might go for one Day, and return the next; that they might be the sooner in a readiness for their Expedition into *Syria*. The effect of the Publication of this Order was,

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An. Heg. 38.
cæpit Jun. 8.
A. C. 658.

that the Camp was entirely forsaken; and the General finding himself left alone, was obliged to go back to *Cufah* too, as well as the rest.

Ali, at the beginning of his Chaliphate, had conferred the Government of *Ægypt* upon *Saad* the Son of *Kais*; who acquitted himself of his Charge with abundance of Prudence. For there being in *Ægypt* a great Faction of *Othman's* Partisans, he knew how to accommodate himself to the Time, and managed them with great Address. This Conduct of *Saad* furnished *Moawiyah* with an occasion of publishing it all abroad, that this Governor was his Friend, and acted in concert with him. These Reports he spread round about, on purpose to raise a Suspicion of him in *Ali*, who nevertheless had no better Friend belonging to him. ³ To forward the Matter, *Moawiyah* forged a Letter in *Saad's* Name, directed to himself; wherein was insinuated, that the Reason why he had not attacked the Party of the *Othmanians*, was because he was entirely in his Measures. This Device of *Moawiyah* had its desired Effect: For as soon as the News reached *Ali's* Ears, he recalled *Saad* from his Government, and sent in his room *Mahomet* the Son of *Abubeker* the first *Caliph*, which was the cause of new Troubles in that Country; for *Mahomet* had no sooner set foot in *Ægypt*,

³ *Abulpheda.*

but he began to chafe out of it all those who pretended to have had any tye of Friendship with *Othman*, or to preserve any Respect for his Memory.

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An. Heg. 38.
cæpit Jun. 8.
A. C. 658.

Wherefore after his Arrival, there was nothing but Dissensions and civil Wars, and these Disorders grew to such a height, that *Ali* was obliged to send *Malec Shuttur* who is sometimes called *Ushthur Malec*, to restore his Authority there. But *Moawiyah*, who had notice of the sending of this new Governor, dealt with a Countryman that lived upon the Confines of *Arabia* and *Ægypt*, and at whose House *Ushthur Malec* was to lodge, to give him Poison in the Entertainment which he had prepared for him.

This Man, an old Friend of *Moawiyah's*, punctually executed his Orders, and gave him some poisoned Honey to sup; of which he died before he stirred out of his House. ⁹ As soon as *Moawiyah* heard it, he said, *Verily God hath Armies of Honey!* Then he dispatched *Amrou Ben Alâs* with Six Thousand Horse to take Possession of the Government of *Ægypt* in his Name; who made such speed that in a few Days he came up to the Capital City; there he joined *Ben Sharig* the Chief of *Othman's* Party; and and they two marched together to engage *Mabomet* the Son of *Abubeker*, who as yet retained

⁹ *Abulpheda.*

A L I.
An. Heg. 38.
cœpit Jun. 8.
A. C. 658.

the Name and Authority of Governor for *Ali*. *Mahomet* was routed, and fell into his Enemies Hands alive; who quickly killed him, and, inclosing his dead Body in that of an Ass, burnt him to Ashes. ⁴ As soon as *Ayesha* heard of the Death of her Brother *Mahomet*, she took it extremely to Heart, and kneeled down, at the end of all her Prayers, to beg a Curse upon *Moarwiyah* and *Amrou*, and took *Mahomet's* Domesticks and Dependants into her care. *Ali* was very much concerned and said, *We shall reckon for him before God*. All this Year there was a continued Succession of Incursions made into *Ali's* Territories, who was all this while daily employed in making eloquent Speeches, and moving his Army to go against *Moarwiyah*, but could make no Impression upon them to the Purpose.

⁵ *Ali* being informed of all this bad News, sent for *Abdallah*, the Son of *Abbas*, from *Basorah*, where he was Governor, that he might comfort himself with his Conversation, and they might take such Resolutions together as were most convenient for the bad Condition of their Affairs. *Abdallah* having first constituted *Ziyád* his Lieutenant in *Basorah*, came to *Ali*, and once again promised him inviolable Fidelity. *Moarwiyah*, who was always watchful to make his Advantage of all Opportunities, was no sooner

⁴ *Abulpheda.* ⁵ *D'Herbelot.*

informed that *Ben Abbàs* had left *Basorah*, but he sent one *Abdallah*, surnamed *Hadrami*, with two thousand Horse to seize that Place.

A L I.
An. Heg. 39.
capit Maii 28.
A. C. 659.

Ziyád, who had not Troops sufficient to stand against *Abdallah*, left the City to him, and informed *Ali* of the pressing Necessity he was under of having speedy Succours sent him, that at least he might be able to keep the Field. *Ali* sent him some under the Command of *Hareth*, who arrived so seasonably that *Abdallah* was beaten and killed in the Battel, which was fought near *Basorah*. Upon this the City surrendered it self to *Ali*'s Government, who immediately sent back *Abdallah Ben Abbas*, to take the Command of it as he had done before. This was in the 38th Year of the *Hegirah*.

The next Year passed over without any considerable Adventures ; for the *Syrians*, weary of the War, enterprized nothing against the *Arabians*, and the *Arabians* had enough to do to preserve themselves. In the beginning of this Year, *Abdallah Ben Abbàs*, Lieutenant of *Basorah*, sent *Ziyád* to take upon him the Government of *Persia*, which was put into great Disorder upon the Account of these Commotions between *Ali* and *Moawiyah*. He behaved himself so well in that Post, and managed so much to the Satisfaction of the People, that the *Per-*

¹ *Abulpheda*.

ALI.
An. Heg. 40.
cœpit Maii 16.
A. C. 660.

sians said, they had never met with any Administration since the Days of *Anusherwan* equal to that of this *Arabian*. This *Anusherwan* was surnamed *the Just*, he was the Son of *Hormisdas* King of the *Persians*, and reigned contemporary with *Mauritius* and *Phocas*. *Mahomet* was born in his Reign, as he says himself in the *Alcoran*, *I was born in the Days of the Just King*.

² This was but a short Cessation, for in the beginning of the fortieth Year *Moawiyah* began to rouse, and sent *Ben Arthab* with three Thousand Horse towards that Province of *Arabia* called *Hejaz*, to seize upon its two principal Towns, *Meccah* and *Medinah*, where he had always kept a Correspondence ever since *Othman's* Death, and by this Means to open himself a Way into *Yemen*, or *Arabia the Happy*. *Ali's* two Governours quitted each of them their respective Charges upon his Approach, for want of Forces sufficient to make a Defence. So that *Ben Arthab* made the Inhabitants take the Oath of Allegiance to *Moawiyah*. He shed some Blood at *Medinah*, which gave the People an Aversion to *Moawiyah's* Government; and proceeded in his March to *Arabia Felix*, where he put some Thousands to the Sword.

All this while *Moawiyah* was in *Syria* at *Damascus*, and *Ali* at *Cufah*. *Ali* always prayed

² *An Heg. 40. cœpit Maii 16. A.C. 660.*

publickly for *Moawiyah*, *Amrou* and *Dehoc*. *Moawiyah* on the other fide prayed for *Ali*, *Hasan* and *Hofein*.

ALI.
An. Heg. 40.
cæpit Maii 16.
A. C. 656.

* *Abidollah* forefeeing very well that he should be viſited by *Ben Arthab*, made the beſt Preparation he was able, but to no purpoſe. He made a Shift to eſcape himſelf, but left two little Boys behind him, both which *Ben Arthab* barbarouſly murdered. This Cruelty not only occaſioned great Grief to the Father, but raiſed a juſt Abhorrence in every Body elſe. *Ali* was extremely touched, and curſed the Author of ſuch an horrible Outrage, begging of God to take away his Senſes and Underſtanding. They ſay, that towards the latter End of his Days he did really turn Fool, and was always calling for his Sword, which his Friends perceiving, gave him one made of Wood, and another hollow one full of Air; and that this poor Wretch imagined that ſo many Blows as he ſtruck with his wooden Sword againſt the other, he killed ſo many Men.

However, *Ali* did not omit the ſending *Ja-riyah* to purſue *Ben Arthab* with four Thouſand

* *D' Herbelot* is here miſtaken, for it was not, as he ſuppoſes, *Abdollah Ben Abbâs*, who was Governor of *Baſorah*; but *Abidollah*, Governor of *Yeman*, whom, as we have before noted, *Ali* put into that Lieutenancy at his firſt coming to the Chaliphate. Beſides, how ſhould the Governor of *Baſorah* receive a Viſit from him in his Return from *Arabia Fælix* into *Syria*?

Horſe;

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An. Heg. 40.
capit Mii 16.
A. C. 660.

Horfe; but he had scarce set out towards *Yemen*, when the other was returning into *Syria*. At the same Time another great Calamity befel *Ali*, for his Brother *Okail* went over to *Moawiyah*, who received him with open Arms, and assigned him large Revenues. *Okail* alledged no other Pretence for his Desertion, but only that his Brother *Ali* had not entertained him according to his Quality.

A little after the Battle of *Naharwan*, three *Karegites* of those that were the most zealous for the Advancement of their Sect, met together at *Meccah*, and making frequent mention among themselves of those that were killed in that Battel; magnified their Merit and bewailed their Loss. These three Men, *Abdarrahmàn* the Son of *Melgem*, *Barak* the Son of *Abdollah*, whom some Surname *Turk*, and *Amrou* the Son of *Beker*, said one to the other, If *Ali*, *Moawiyah* and *Amrou* the Son of *Aâsi*, these erroneous *Imàms*, were dead, the Affairs of the *Muslemans* would be in a good Condition. Immediately the first of them said to his Companions, For my part, if you will, I will give you a good Account of *Ali*. The second hearing this Discourse, said he would undertake to make a good riddance of *Moawiyah*; and the third promised the other two, to kill *Amrou Ben Aâsi*. These three Men that were thus de-

devoted to execute their Design unanimously, pitched upon a *Friday*, (the Day of the solemn Assembly of the *Muslemans*) which fell upon the seventeenth of the Month *Ramadan*: And after having poisoned their Swords, every Man took his Road; the first that to *Cufah*, the second that to *Damascus*, and the third that to *Ægypt*.

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An. Heg. 40.
cæpit Maii 16.
A. C. 660.

Barak, one of the three Devotees being arrived at *Damascus*, struck *Moawiyah* in the Reins, but the Wound was not mortal. The Surgeon that was called to see him, after having searched and considered it; gave him his choice, either to be Cauterized, or drink a Portion that should render him incapable of Generation. *Moawiyah* without any Hesitation chose the latter, and did in reality remain the rest of his Days without having any other Children besides those which were born to him before he received his Wound.

The Assassin, who was instantly seized, discovered the Conspiracy which he had made with his two Comrades, and was condemned to have his Hands and Feet cut off, and be suffered to live. He did live, and it is said he married afterwards. But one of *Moawiyah*'s Friends being informed of it, said that it was by no means reasonable, that that Assassin who had hindered *Moawiyah* from having Children, should

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A. C. 656.

should have any of his own ; and so killed him with his own Hands.

Amrou Ben Beker the second of the Conspirators was in *Ægypt*, on *Friday* the seventeenth of the Month *Ramadan*, the Day appointed to strike his Blow ; *Amrou Ben Alâfi* was then (fortunately for him) troubled with a fit of the Cholick, which hindered him from performing the Office of *Imâm* in the *Mosque* that Day. Wherefore he appointed another, who supplied his Place, and fell down dead with the Blow, which the Assassin, who mistook him for *Amrou*, gave him. This same Assassin, as he was led to Execution, said without any concern, *I designed Amrou, but God designed another.* ⁸ Other Authors say, that when he was brought before *Amrou*, he asked who that was. They told him *Amrou* : Whom then, said he, have I killed ? They answered *Charijab*. Then *Amrou* said to him, *You meant Amrou, but God meant Charijah.*

⁹ The third of these Conspirators, *Abdarrahmân*, had better Success in the Execution of his wicked Design against *Ali*, than his other two Companions. For being arrived at *Cusab*, he took up his Lodgings at a Woman's House, whose nearest Relations had been killed at the Battel of *Nabarwân*, and who for that Reason retained in her Heart a strong desire of be-

⁸ *Abulpheda.* ⁹ *D'Herbelot.*

ing revenged upon *Ali*. *Abdarrakman* finding this Woman in a Disposition so favourable to his Design; used his utmost Efforts to gain her Favour, at the same time making her some Overtures of Marriage, to which she answered: The Dowry which I will have of the Man that Marries me, shall be three Thousand Drachms of Silver, a Slave, a Maid, and *Ali's* Head. *Abdorrakman* instantly accepted the Conditions. And at the time when he undertook to put his Design in Execution, she joined two other Men with him whose Names were ^s *Derwan* and *Sbeith* to bear him Company.

Ali, during all this Month of *Ramadan* in which he was killed, had several Presages of his Death, and used between times to let drop some words to that purpose when he was in private among his Friends. He was heard once to say, after he had undergone a great deal of Uneasiness; *Alas! my Heart, there is need of Patience, for there is no remedy against Death!* In short, *Friday* the seventeenth of this Month being come, he went out of his House early in the Morning to go to the *Mosque*, and it was observed that a great Number of Household Birds made a great Noise as he passed through his Yard; and

^s *Abulpheda* says, *Werdan* and *Shabib*. The same Letters may be read for both. *D'Herbelot* seems to have read it in *Persian*, in which writing *w* is like *d*, and sometimes *r*. But *Werdan* and *Shabib* are the right Names.

that

A L I.
An. Heg. 4c.
cæpit Maii 16.
A. C. 656.

A L I.
An. Heg. 60.
capit Maii 40.
A. C. 656.

that one of his Slaves having thrown a Cudgel at them to make them quiet, he said to them, Let them alone, for their Cries are only Lamentations foreboding my Death.

As soon as he came into the *Mosque* these three Villains, who waited for him, pretended to quarrel among themselves, and drew their Swords.

⁸ *Derwân* made a Blow at *Ali*, but missed him, and the Blow fell upon the Gate of the *Mosque*. *Abdarrabmân* struck him upon the Head, just in the same place where he had received a Wound before in the Battel of *Abzâb*, which was fought in *Mahomet's* time, and that Stroke was mortal. The three Assassins had time to make their Escape, without being Apprehended. ⁹ *Derwân* crept home; where a Man who had seen him with Sword in Hand against *Ali*, went and killed him. *Shabib* betook him to his Heels, and ran so well, that he was never taken. *Abdarrabmân* concealed himself for some time; and when *Ali* was asked who was the Author of such an enormous Attempt against his Person, he answered, You shall soon hear Tidings of him. In short, a *Musleman* having found *Abdarrabmân* hid in a Corner, with his Sword in his Hand, asked him if it was not he that had wounded *Ali*; the Assassin, willing to deny it,

⁸ *Werdân.* ⁹ *Werdan.*

was constrained by his own Conscience to confess it; and was instantly brought before *Ali*. *Ali* delivered him in Custody to his eldest Son *Hasan*, with Orders to let him want nothing, and that if he died of his Wound, he should execute his Murderer at one Stroke only. *Hasan* punctually obeyed his Father's Orders, who died the 19th, or 20th, or 21st of the same Month, that is, the third, fourth, or fifth Day after he was wounded. This is the Account that the learned *D'Herbelot* gives of the Death of that Murderer out of his *Persian* Authors, as I suppose. ^s *Tábari* and *Abulpheda*, Authors of great Account among the *Arabians*, relate it after a quite different manner. *Abulpheda* says, "That
" his Hand was cut off first, and then his Foot
" on the opposite Side: Next they put out his
" Eyes with a red hot Iron, then cut out his
" Tongue, and afterwards burnt him," to which he adds, *the Curse of God be upon him*. This Account I take to be much the more probable, considering the heinousness of the Crime, and the Temper of that People. For though it is not at all improbable that *Ali* might give such Orders, yet I can by no means be induced to believe that they were ever so mercifully executed. After what manner soever he was put to Death, the Hereticks look upon him as a Martyr.

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An. Heg. 40.
cæpit Maii 16.
A. C. 660.

^s *Abulpheda*.

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As to *Ali's* Age Authors differ, some say he was sixty-three, others fifty-six, and some fifty-nine. The Time of his Caliphate was five Years bating three Months; they are not agreed as to the Place of his Burial: Some say he was buried opposite to the Mosque in *Cusab*; others in the Royal Palace; others say, that his Son *Hasan* convey'd him to *Medinah*, and laid him by his Wife *Phatemah*. ² The most probable Opinion is, that he was buried in that Place which is visited by the *Muslemans* to this Day as his Tomb, where there are a great many Oblations left by the Devotees.

As to his Person, he had a very red Face, large Eyes, a prominent Belly, a bald Head, a large Beard, very hairy upon the Breast, rather short than middle-sized; of a very good Look, florid and youthful, frequently smiling. He had in all nine Wives, the first of which was *Fathemah*, *Mahomet's* Daughter, during whose Life he married no other. By her he had three Children, *Hasan*, *Hosein* and *Mohassan*; this last died in his Infancy.

³ The second was *Omm-al Nebiyin*, by whom he had four Children, *Abdollah*, *Abbàs*, *Othman* and *Jaasar*, who were all four killed at the Battle of *Kerbelah*.

² *Abulpheda* says, that in this Opinion he chuses to follow *Ebno'l Athrîr*. ³ *D'Herbelot*.

His third Wife, named *Asimah*, was the Mother of *Jabya* and *Aoun*.

The fourth, whose Name was *Ommi-habibah*, was the Mother of *Omar*.

The sixth, whose Name was *Caulab*, was the Mother of *Mohammed Ben Haniphiyah*, of whom we shall give a further Account in the Sequel of the History.

I find no further particular mention of the Names of the rest of his Wives; there are three more Sons, *Mahomet* the younger, and *Amrou*, who were born of some one or other of them.

Though here are but fourteen Sons mentioned here, it is certain he had fifteen, whereof only five left any Posterity behind them; namely, *Hasan*, *Hosein*, *Mohammed Ben Haniphiyah*, *Abbas* and *Amrou*. As for the number of his Daughters they reckon eighteen.

This particular Account of his Family may seem superfluous to some, but not to those that consider what great Changes and Revolutions have been made by it in the several succeeding Generations of the *Muslemans*, and of what Importance it is throughout the whole course of their History.

They report strange things of *Ali*. One thing very particularly observable is, that his Mother was delivered of him in the very Temple itself

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of *Meccab*; which never happened to any one else. The Name that his mother gave him first, was *Caid*: But *Mahomet* his Cousin-German changed it into *Ali*.

⁴Among the Surnames, or honourable Titles, which the *Muslemans* bestow upon *Ali*, there are two principal ones; the first of which is *Wâsi*, which signifies in Arabick, Legatee, Mandatary, Executor of a Man's Will, and Heir, that is of *Mahomet*. His second Title is ⁵*Mortada*, or *Mortadi*, which signifies beloved by, or acceptable to God. They called him even whilst he was alive *Efed Allâb algalib*, *The victorious Lion of God*; to which may be added *Haidar*, which also in the Arabick Language signifies a Lion. The *Shii*, who are his Followers, or rather his Adorers, frequently call him *Faid alan-wâr*, *The Distributer of Lights or Graces*. And in *Persian*, *Shah Mordman*, *the King of Men*, and *Shîr Khoda*, *the Lion of God*.

The greatest Part of the *Muslemans* pretend, that *Ali* was the first that embraced that Religion. And according to their Tradition he was indeed a very early *Musleman*, for it seems he made Profession of that Religion in his Mother's Womb. For all the time that she was big of him he hindered her from prostrating herself

⁴ *D'Herbelot*. ⁵ From whence it is that our European Travellers corruptly call him *Mortis Ali*, which the Readers take to have been his Name.

before her Idol which she used to worship. The Form of Benediction, or Blessing, which they always add when they name him, is, *God glorify the Face of him*. They say, moreover, that *Mahomet*, talking of him, said, *Ali is for me, and I am for him; he stands to me in the same Rank as Aaron did to Moses; I am the Town in which all Knowledge is shut up, and he is the Gate of it*.

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However, these great Elogies did not hinder his Name, and that of all his Family, from being cursed, and their Persons excommunicated through all the Mosques of the Empire of the Caliphs of the House of *Ommiyah*, down from *Moarwiyah* to the time of *Omar Ebn Abdalaziz*, who suppressed this solemn Malediction: There were besides several of the Caliphs of the House of *Abbas*, who expressed a great Aversion to *Ali* and all his Posterity; such as *Mótaded* and *Motawákkel*, to whom he is reported to have appeared in their Sleep and threatned with his indignation. On the contrary, the *Fatemite* Caliphs of *Ægypt* made his Name to be added to that of *Mahomet* in the Publication of the Times of Prayer, which they make on the Turrets of the Mosques.

It is said, that the Sepulchre of *Ali* was kept hid during all the Reign of the Family of *Ommiyah*, and not discovered till under the Reign of

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An. Heg. 16.
cepit Maii 40.
A. C. 656.

the *Abbasides*, which is not credible. *Adbaude-daulat* in the Year 367, of Christ 977, built a sumptuous Monument over it, which the *Persians* generally call *Konbud Faïd alanwar*, *The Dome of the Dispenser of Lights and Graces*. Now notwithstanding the Sepulchre of *Ali* is so very well known, near the City of *Cusab*, there are some of his Sect who believe him to be still alive, and affirm, that he shall come at the end of the World, and fill the Earth with Justice. There are some among them so extravagant as to make him a Divine Person. The more moderate say, that he is not truly God, but that in a great many Things he partakes of the Divine Nature.

Ali has a great Reputation for his Wisdom among all the *Mahometans*. There is extant of his a *Centiloquium*, or a hundred Sentences, which have been translated out of *Arabick* into *Turkish* and *Persian*. There is likewise a Collection of Verses under the Title of *Anwar Alokail*. We have in the *Bodleian* Library a large Book of his Sentences, a Specimen whereof we shall annex to this History. But the most celebrated Piece of all is intituled *Jesr we Jame*; it is written upon Parchment in mysterious Characters intermixed with Figures, wherein are couched all the grand Events that are to happen from the Beginning of *Muslemanism* to the end of the World.

World. This Parchment is deposited in the Hands of those of his Family, and even to this Time no body has decyphered it in any sort of manner but *Jaaser Sadek*. For, as for the entire Explication of it, that is reserved for the twelfth *Imàm*, who is surnamed by way of Excellence, the *Mobdi* or *Grand Director*.

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Besides these Books which we have been speaking of, we find in Authors several Sentences and Apophthegms, under the Name of *Ali*. The Author of *Rabi alakyar* quotes this, which is one of the most instructive; *He that would be rich without Means, powerful without Subjects, and Subject without a Master; hath nothing to do but to leave off sinning and serve God; and he will find these three things*. One of his Captains having asked him one Day with impudence enough, what was the Reason that the Reigns of *Abubeker* and *Omar* his Predecessors were so peaceable, and that of *Othman* and his own were so full of Troubles and Divisions; *Ali* answered him very wisely: *The Reason is plain, it is because Othman and I served Abubeker and Omar during their Reign: And Othman and I found no body to serve us but you, and such as are like you*.

Some body told him one Day, that *Moawiyah* said, that *Ali* and those of his House distinguished themselves by their Bravery; *Zobéir* and his

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Family made a noise with their Magnificence; but that for his own Part and his Family's, they did not pretend to distinguish themselves from others, by any thing but their Humanity and Clemency. *Ali* answered those that told him, that it looked as if *Moarwiyah* had made use of Artifice in this Discourse, as if he had a mind to spur on *Zobéir* and him with their Magnificence and Bravery; to the End, that the one throwing himself into a vast Expence, and the other into Hazards, they might not be in a Condition to oppose his Usurpation: And he would gain the Affection of the People, by boasting of the Sweetness of his Temper.

There is besides in the Book Intituled *Rabialakyar* another Maxim of *Ali*, which is very memorable, and very contrary to the Conduct of those who vaunt themselves upon the account of their being of his Sect. *Take great care*, said he, *never to separate your selves from the Fellowship of the other Muslemans: For he that separates himself from them belongs to the Devil, as the Sheep that leave the Flock belong to the Wolf. Therefore give no Quarter to him who marches under the Standard of Schism, though he has my Turbant upon his Head, for he carries along with him the infallible Mark of a Man that is out of the way.* It should be remarked here by the way that those of the Sect of *Ali* have not only

a Turbant made after a particular Fashion, but that ² they also twist their Hair after a manner quite different from the rest of the *Muslemans*.

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Hosain Waæ also recites this Passage of *Ali*, in his Paraphrase and Commentary upon the *Alcoran*; *God hath given Men two Imàms, that is to say, two Pontifs or Mediators between him and them. The first is the Prophet who is gone, and is no more among them. The second which remains and shall continue always with them is the Prayer, which they make to obtain pardon of Sins.*

Ali's Sectaries are called by the *Muslemans*, (who intitle themselves *Sonnites*, that is Observers of the Tradition, or Orthodox) by the scandalous Name of *Shii*, a Name that is formed from that of *Shiyah*, which signifies properly a scandalous reprobate Sect. For a Sect that follows approved Opinions, is called by the *Arabs* *Medheb*: But these Sectaries of *Ali*, of whom we are speaking, do not call themselves by that Name. On the contrary, they apply it to their Adversaries, and call their own Sect *Adâliyah*, which signifies the Religion of them that follow Justice and the right Side.

There have been some of these Partisans of *Ali* dispersed throughout all the Countries of the the Empire of the *Muslemans*, who have from

² *D'Herbelot.*

ALI.
An. Heg. 40.
cæpit Maii 16.
A.C. 660.

time to time raised very great Disturbances. They have possessed several Estates both in *Asia* and *Africa*: At this Day all the great Empire of the *Persians*, and one half of the Princes of the *Uzbecks*, whose Dominions lye beyond the River *Gibon*, and some *Mahometan* Kings of the *Indies* made Profession of this Sect.

These are the principle Memoirs relating to that great *Caliph*; who, laying aside all those impertinent fabulous Stories which they tell of him, was, if he be considered with regard to his Courage, Temper, Piety and Understanding, one of the greatest Men that was ever born in that Nation. The Inscription of his Seal was, *The Kingdom belongs to the Only the Mighty God.*

HASAN.

H A S A N.

The Fifth from *MAHOMET*.

AFTER *Ali* had received his mortal Wound, and there was no room left for any Hopes of Recovery ; his Friends that were about him enquired of him whom he would nominate for his Successor. He told them, that he intended, with regard to that Affair, to follow the Example of the Apostle of God, who did not nominate any Successor. That if it did please God to favour them, he would undoubtedly unite their Judgments in the making a good Choice. So it fell of Course without any Scruple to his eldest Son *Hasan*, a Man that inherited more of his Father's Piety than his Courage ; and was revered not only upon the account of his near Relation to *Ali*, but because he was very studious of the practical Part of Religion, and accounted by all a very good Man.

HASAN.
An. Heg. 40.
œpit Maii 16.
A.C. 660.

* As soon as his Father *Ali* was dead, *Hasan*, it belonging properly to him as eldest Son to per-

* *Ebno'l Athîr*.

H A S A N.
An. Heg. 40.
capit Maii 16.
A. C. 660.

form that Office, stood up and said to the People; *You have killed a Man* (meaning his Father) *on that same Night in which the Alcoran came down from Heaven, and Isa (Jesus) upon whom be Peace, was lifted up to Heaven, and in which Joshua the Son of Nun was killed; by God, none of his Predecessors exceeded him, nor will any of his Successors ever be equal to him.* ² After this they proceeded to his Inauguration, which was begun by *Kais* in this Form. Stretch out your Hand, as a Token that you will stand by the Book of God, and the Tradition of the Apostle, and make War against all Opposers. *Hasan* answered, As to the Book of God and the Tradition of the Apostle, for they will stand. Then the rest came in, with whom he stipulated, that they should be subject and obedient to him, and be at Peace with his Friends, and at War with his Enemies: But some of the *Irakians*, who were quite weary of the *Syrian* War, hesitated at that Condition, and said, This Man will never serve you for a Master, we are for no fighting.

'Tis said, that notwithstanding the remissness of the greater Part, forty (and some say sixty) Thousand of *Ali's* Men had bound themselves in an Association before he was murdered, to stand by him to Death, and that he was making Pre-

² *Abulpheda.*

paration to march at the Head of them. With this trusty Body of his Father's Troops, *Hasan* was perfwaded, contrary to his own Inclination, to infist upon his Right, and renew the Dispute with *Moarwiyah*, who had *Syria*, *Palestine* and *Ægypt* in his Possession, and was proclaimed *Caliph* in those Countries, even before *Ali* was killed, and refused to acknowledge *Hasan's* Title, because he accused him of having been an Accomplice in the Murder of *Othman*.

HASAN.
An. Heg. 40.
cæpit Maii 16.
A. C. 660.

Hasan was by no manner of means qualified for such an Undertaking, being naturally of a most peaceable Disposition, and who looked upon the Effusion of Musleman Blood with the greatest Horror imaginable; but over-perfwaded he set upon his March, having sent *Kais* before him with twelve Thousand Men. *Moarwiyah* was already upon his March towards them; and after a Skirmish between *Kais* and the *Syrians*, they rested in Expectation of *Hasan's* Arrival. ¹ When *Hasan* came to *Madayan*, there happened a Tumult in his Army, occasioned by the sudden Murder of one of his Men, which was no sooner proclaimed, but the whole Host was in such an Uproar, that without any Regard to his Distinction, he was not only jostled from his Seat, but received a Wound. Upon this he retired into *Madayen* Castle, where the Go-

¹ *Ebno'l Athîr*.

HASAN.
An. Heg. 40.
capit Maii 6.
A.C. 661.

vernour's Nephew propos'd to his Uncle to put him in Irons, and make a Present of him to *Moawiyah*: His Uncle gave him an hearty Curse, and said, *What would you betray the Son of the Daughter of the Apostle of God?* *Hasan* perceiving the People divided, and himself ill used and almost deserted by the *Irakians*, weary of Fatigue and Disturbance, wrote to *Moawiyah*, proffering to resign the *Caliphate* to him upon certain Terms.

¹ *Hosein* his younger Brother was utterly against *Hasan's* Abdication, as being a Reflection upon, and Disparagement to the Memory of their Father *Ali*; but *Hasan* well apprised of *Moawiyah's* Resolution on the one side, and the Fickleness of his own *Irakians* on the other, ² persisted in his Determination, and as it is said, had written to *Moawiyah* before this last Battel, and propos'd some Conditions. That before *Moawiyah* had received his Letter, he sent him a Blank Paper sign'd at the Bottom, and bad him write what Terms he pleas'd in it, and he would take Care to see them punctually performed. *Hasan* took the Paper, and doubled the Conditions which he had mentioned in his Letter, and when he and *Moawiyah* came together, he insist'd upon the Conditions written in the blank Paper: Which *Moawiyah* refus'd and

¹ Abulpharagius. ² Tabari. Elmakin.

told him, that it was reasonable he should be contented with those he had expressed in his Letter, since it was his own Proposal. ³ The Articles that *Hasan* proposed were these. *First*, That *Moawiyah* should give him all the Money in the Treasury of *Cufah*. *2dly*, the Revenues of a ⁴ vast Estate in *Persia*. *3dly*, That *Moawiyah* should make no reproachful Reflection upon his Father *Ali*. *Moawiyah* would not consent to the last Article. Then *Hasan* desired that at least he would forbear doing it in his hearing; which *Moawiyah* promised him, but did not perform.

H A S A N.
An. Heg. 41.
capit Maii 6.
A. C. 661.

⁵ The Conditions agreed upon, *Hasan* and *Moawiyah* went into *Cufah* together, when *Amrou Ebno'l Afi* gave *Moawiyah* a Hint, that he thought it proper for him to order *Hasan* to stand up and testify his Abdication. *Moawiyah* did not approve of that Motion; but overcome with *Amrou's* Importunity, he commanded *Hasan* to do it. ⁶ Then *Hasan* stood up and said, having first praised God; O People! God, whose Name be magnified and glorified, directed you the right Way by the Help of the First of our Family, and hath prevented the Effusion of your Blood by the Means of the last of us. *Moawiyah* contended with me concerning a Matter, to which I had a

³ Abulpheda. ⁴ Dáráljerd. ⁵ Tabari. Elmakín. ⁶ Abulpheragius,

HASAN. *better Pretension than him; but I chose rather to*
 An. Heg. 41. *restrain the People from fighting, and surrender*
capit Maii 6. it to him. But even this Affair also hath a Time
 A. C. 661. *prefixed for its Duration, and the World is liable*
 to Changes. Which last Words, as presaging a
 Revolution, *Moawiyah* so disrelished, that he
 immediately commanded *Hasan* to sit down, and
 chid *Amrou* severely for having pressed him to
 it; nay, ⁶ some Authors go so far, as to say,
 that he was so exasperated against him, as never
 to be heartily reconciled as long as he lived:
 For he knew very well that it was superfluous
 for *Hasan* to acquaint the People with what
 they were all Eye-Witnesses of: and that if he
 did speak at all, it was more than probable, that
 he would leave a Sting behind him. *Hasan*, be-
 fore his Departure, stood up and told the *Iraki-*
ans, that he had three Things to lay to their
 Charge: The Murder of his Father, The Af-
 fronts offered to his own Person, and The rob-
 bing him of his Goods. Now, though *Moawi-*
yah had promised him the Treasury of *Cusab*,
 they refused to let him have it, insisting upon
 its being their Property, and therefore could not
 be alienated without their Consent.

However that was no Hindrance to him, for
Moawiyah possessed of the *Caliphate*, which was
 the only Thing he aimed at, never grudged him

⁶ MS. Hunt. Num. 495.

any Revenue whatsoever. He assigned him about an Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds a Year, besides large Presents. ⁷ He and his Brother *Hosein* retired and lived privately at *Medinah*. He spent most of his vast Revenue in Deeds of Charity. So little was he attached to the things of this World, that twice in his Life-time he stript himself of all that he had: And three other several Times he divided half his Substance among the Poor.

HASAN.
An. Heg. 41.
cæpit Maii 6.
A. C. 661.

His Seal or Motto during his *Chaliphate* was; *There is no God but God, the true and manifest King.*

They differ as to the precise Time of his Reign; but most assign him about six Months, or a little over.

⁸ Upon his coming to *Medinah*, he was blamed by some of his Friends there for having so tamely and easily resigned; but the Followers of *Ali*, *Hasan* and *Hosein* to this very Day look upon it as a singular Demonstration of his excellent Disposition, and Tenderneſs over the People, upon which account he had been before recommended by the Prophet. To those that asked him what induced him to resign so easily; he answered that he was weary of the World: Besides that the *Cusians* were such a faithless People,

⁷ D'Herbelot. ⁸ MS. Hunt. Num. 495:

HASAN.
An. Heg. 41.
capit Maii 6.
A. C. 661.

that never a Man of them ever trusted another, but he was a Sufferer by it : That never two of them concurred in their Opinion and Desire of the same thing : Nor had they any regard either to Good or Evil : Besides that their Behaviour towards his Father had quite turned his Thoughts from entertaining any the least hopes of rectifying any thing that was amiss through their Assistance ; and to sum up their Character, That they were the most thievish mischievous People in the World.

Though this is the true Character of the *Cusians*, yet they expressed a great Reverence for him ; for when, as soon as he entertained thoughts of his Resignation, he made this Speech to them, *We are your Commanders and your Chiefs, and we are of the Family of the House of your Prophet, from which God hath removed Pollution, and whom he hath purified* ; there was not a Man present in the Congregation, but wept so loud that you might hear him sob ; besides they expressed their Concern with Tears at his Departure from *Cusab* to *Medinah*.

Whilst he lived at *Medinah*, some of the *Karegites*, those Hereticks that gave his Father so much Disturbance, made an Insurrection against *Moarwiyah*, who wrote to *Hasan* to go out against them. *Hasan* desired to be excused ; and told him that he had left off all publick Affairs on pur-

purpose to avoid it; and that if he had cared for fighting at all, it should have been against him.

HASAN.
An. Heg. 41.
capit Maii 6.
A. C. 661.

At last in the Forty ninth Year of their Date, which falls in with the Six Hundred and Sixty ninth of ours, he died at *Medinah*, poisoned by his Wife, who was suborned to commit that Wickedness by *Yezid* the Son of *Moawiyah*, upon promise of marrying her afterwards: But instead of that, she was forced to be contented with a good Sum of Money, which *Moawiyah* gave her for her pains; for *Yezid* was not so mad as to trust himself in her Embraces.

When the time of his Death drew near, his Physician, as he was walking backwards and forwards about the Room, and eying him narrowly, said that his Bowels were eaten up with Poison. *Hosein* his Brother begged of him, to tell him who it was that gave him the Draught, and swore that he would be revenged on him, if he could reach him, before his Burial. If not, he would send some body that should. *Hasan* answered, *O Brother! The Life of this World is made up of Nights which vanish away; Let him alone till he and I meet together before God: And refused to mention the Person.* Some say that *Moawiyah* suborned some of his Servants to Poison him.

HASAN.
 An. Heg. 41.
cæpit Maii 6.
A. C. 661.

He was born at *Medinah*, in the middle of the Month *Ramadan* in the third Year of the *Hegirah*. There is an infinity of Traditions concerning him and his Brother *Hosein*; and no wonder, considering they were the Grandchildren of one reputed an inspired Prophet by his only Daughter. Of *Hasan* they relate, that he was very much like his Grandfather *Mahomet*, who when he was born, spit in his Mouth, and named him *Hasan*. He used to express his Fondness of him in his Infancy after such a loathsome manner as cannot be repeated. When he was at Prayers, little *Hasan* used to come and clamber upon him, and *Mahomet* to humour him would hold him on, and ⁵ prolong the Prayers on purpose. Nay, sometimes in the midst of a Discourse to the People, if he saw *Hasan* and *Hosein* coming towards him, he would come down to them and embrace them, and take them up with him into the Pulpit; then, making a short Apology in behalf of their Innocency and tender Age, proceed in his Discourse.

⁶ My Author says, “ That the *Syrians* indeed “ set up *Moawiyah* at *Jerusalem*, because there

⁵ The *Mahometans* say their Prayers prostrated, so that their Foreheads touch the Ground, though not all the while. And so we are to understand it in the Old Testament, when it is said of any one, *he fell down and worshipped*; for the same Word that signifies Worship is used for a *Mahometan's* saying his Prayers. ⁶ MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

“ was

“ was none to oppose them, and the *Irakians*
 “ set up *Hasan* against him, and had undoubt-
 “ edly succeeded in their Attempt; if their
 “ Mismanagement and Divisions among them-
 “ selves had not frustrated it. But had they un-
 “ derstood aright, they would have magnified
 “ the Mercy of God, in giving them the Apo-
 “ stle’s Grandson. What we find in the Book
 “ intituled, *The demonstrations of Prophecy*, from
 “ the Tradition of *Sepbinah*, who was a servant
 “ or freed Man of the Apostle of God, is a
 “ Proof that he was the right Successor. *Ma-*
 “ *bomet* said, *The Chaliphate shall continue after*
 “ *me thirty Years, and after that shall be a King-*
 “ *dom.* Now *Mabomet* died in the Eleventh
 “ Year of the *Hegirah*, and *Hasan*’s Abdication
 “ was in the Fortieth: From whence it is plain,
 “ not only that *Mabomet* is a Prophet, but that
 “ *Hasan* is his rightful Successor. That *Mabo-*
 “ *met* had praised him, for this his relinquishing
 “ the present perishing World, and desiring that
 “ other which is permanent, and sparing the
 “ Effusion of the Blood of this People: That
 “ *Mabomet* one Day mounted the Pulpit, and
 “ *Hasan* sat by him, which he frequently used
 “ to do; and *Mabomet* looked sometimes upon
 “ him, and sometimes upon the People: After
 “ a Pause, he said, *O People! This Son of mine is*
 “ *Lord, and God shall unite by his Means two*

HASAN.
 An. Heg: 41.
 cœpit Maii 6.
 A. C. 661.

HASAN. "great contending Parties of the Muslemeans."
 An. Heg. 41. This last is from *Albochâri*, the great Collector
capit Maii 6. of the Traditions of *Mahomet*.
A. C. 661.

I have not yet been able to find out who this Author is from whom I have taken this last Argument, because the Book is imperfect both at the Beginning and the End, and I could never find any other Copy of him : But he hath been of singular Use to me throughout the whole Course of this History to the Life of Merwan the Son of Hakem, where the Copy fails. I find in another Passage, that he was himself the Author of the Book of the Demonstrations of Prophecy which he mentions. He also affirms, that he wrote another Treatise to prove that it was impracticable for Mahomet to marry Abu Saphyan's Daughter, of which more afterwards. Whosoever he was, it is certain he was a great Imâm. To return to our History.

7 A Woman once having presented him with a Bunch of fine Herbs ; he asked her, if she was a Free-woman ; the Woman told him she was a Slave, but that the Present she had made was rare and curious. *Hasan* gave her her Liberty, and said to those that were present, *We have received this Instruction from God himself, that we ought to give to those that make us Presents something of more Value than that which*

7 *D'Herbelot,*

they give us ; meaning, that this moral Instruction is couched in the *Alcoran*, which the Musselmans, blind as they are, look upon as the Word of God.

HASAN.
An. Heg. 41.
cœpit Maii 6.
A. C. 661.

They relate a wonderful Instance of the *MODERATION* of this *Chaliph*. A Slave having spilled a Dish of scalding Broth upon him as he sat at Table, threw himself down instantly at his Knees, and repeated to him these Words of the *Alcoran*, *Paradise is open to those that govern their Passion*. *Hasan* answered him, I am not at all in a Passion. The Slave went on, *And to those who pardon Offences : I pardon you yours*, said *Hasan*. The Slave went on to the End of the Verse, which says, *God loves those above all who do good to them that have offended them*. *Hasan* concluded too ; Since it is so, I give you your Liberty and four Hundred Drachms of Silver.

There is an Author, who treating concerning *Hasan's* Death, says, that it was contained in the Treaties between him and *Moawiyah* ; that *Moawiyah* should never declare a Successor so long as *Hasan* lived, but should leave the Election in the Hands of a certain Number of Persons, of which *Hasan* was to have the Nomination, as *Omar* had done before. But that *Moawiyah* desirous of leaving the *Chaliphate* to

his

HASAN. his Son *Yezid*, thought he could not bring his
 An. Heg. 41. Design about so long as *Hasan* was alive.
cœpit Maii 6.
A. C. 661.

He had twenty Children, fifteen Males and five Daughters. ³ Though his Wives were all of them remarkably fond of him, yet he was apt very frequently to divorce them and marry new ones. There are some among the Sectaries of *Ali* who draw the Line or Descent of the *Imams* from *Abdollah*, one of his Children, who had a Son named *Yabya*; but the *Persians* will have the Succession to pass from *Hasan* to his younger Brother *Hosein*.

The Muslemans quote this Sentence of *Hasan*; *The Tears which are let fall through Devotion should not be wiped off, nor the Water which remains upon the Body after legal washing; because this Water makes the Face of the Faithful shine, when they present themselves before God.*

⁴ He died at the Age of Forty Seven Years, in the Month *Sefer* of the Forty Ninth Year of the *Hegirah*. He left Directions in his Will for them to bury him near his Grandfather *Mabomet*: But to prevent any Disturbance, and lest he should be carried to the common Burial Place, he thought it proper to ask *Ayesha's* Leave, which she granted. But when he was dead, *Saëd*, who was Governor of the Town,

³ MS. *Hunt.* ubi supra. *D'Herbelot.* ⁴ *Ebno'l Athir.*

and *Merwan* the Son of *Hakem*, and all the whole Family of the House of *Ommiyah* that were then at *Medinab*, opposed it. Upon which the heats between the two Families arose to a great Height : At last, *Ayesha* said, that it was her House, and that she would not allow him to be buried there. Wherefore they laid him in the common Burying Place. When *Moawiyah* heard of *Hasan's* Death, he fell down and worshipped.

HASAN.
An. Heg. 41.
cæpit Maii 6.
A.C. 661.

*The Chaliphs of the Family of Ommiyah,
which are fourteen in all, the first of
which is,*

M O A W I Y A H,

The Son of Abu Sophyan.

Being the Sixth from *MAHOMET*.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 41.
cœpit Maii 6.
A. C. 661.

ALL Opposition removed, *Maowiyah* takes entire Possession of the *Chaliphate*. The Family of *Hassem*, of which were *Mahomet* and *Ali*,⁷ lay like Coals raked up in Embers not able to stir. The Hearts of the People were entirely in the Interest of *Hosein* the younger Brother of *Hasan*, but *Moawiyah* had Possession and the Army. He was indeed a Man of great Abilities and steady Conduct; but before we proceed to give an Account of his Government, it will not be amiss to enquire a little into his Original.

His Father *Abu Sophyan* was one of the Heads of the noble Tribe of the *Coreish*, of which was *Mahomet*; and as soon as *Mahomet* took up

⁷ MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

Arms, not so much for the Defence as for the Propagation of his pretendedly inspired Religion, *Abu Sophyan* was made Generalissimo of the Infidels against him: and after the Battel of *Beder*, he stood very fair for the Headship of that Tribe. He wanted nothing to recommend him; his Courage, his Gravity and immense Riches, set him above all Competition. But ⁶ at last he was convinced, (as it should seem, by a signal Victory gained by *Mahomet* over his Enemies,) of the Truth of his Pretensions. This was no small Accession to *Mahomet*'s Interest, who had been sufficiently galled and harassed by the *Coreish*. *Moawiyah* and his Wife came in the same Day. *Abu Sophyan* after his Conversion to *Mahometanism* begged three things of *Mahomet*. The first was, that, to make Amends for former Offences, as he had commanded the Forces of the Infidels against the true Religion, he might now have the Honour of having the Command of the Army of the Faithful against the Infidels; which was granted. His second Petition was, that his Son *Moawiyah* might be his Secretary. To which *Mahomet* assented. The third was, that the Apostle would vouchsafe to marry his second Daughter *Gazab*; for which *Mahomet* begged his Excuse. Our Author says, it was not lawful; but forbears the Reason, because he

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 41.
cæpit Maii 6.
A.C. 661.

⁶ *Yaumal phethi*. The Day of Victory.

Moawiyah I. says, as we have observed before, he hath writ-
 An. Heg. 41. ten a particular Treatise relating to that Affair.
cæpit Maii 6. ¹ *Moawiyah* was no sooner settled in his Go-
A. C. 661.

government, but the *Karegites*, Enemies to all Government both Ecclesiastical and Civil, began to infest him: They always were of Opinion that the Person who was to preside in Spirituals, should not be one of Man's making, nor descend by any Succession; but whose Spirituality should recommend him to the Approbation of the Godly. Upon *Hasan's* refusal to take up Arms, *Moawiyah* sent the *Syrians* against them: but the *Separatists* beat the *Syrians*. So he applied himself to his new Subjects the *Cusians*, and the Inhabitants of all those Parts of *Babylonia*, and told them that now was their time to give him Proof of the Sincerity of their Obedience, that he should have no Security of their Loyalty, unless they vigorously opposed this Rebellion. They having taken Arms, the *Separatists*, would have persuaded them to desist, and asked them whether or no *Moawiyah* was not their common Enemy. Let us alone, said they, to make War upon him: If we kill him, we have ridded you of your Enemy: If he kills us, you are rid of us. The *Cusians* did not think it proper to hearken to their Advice, and the

‡ *Ebnol Athîr.*

War

War was soon ended by the suppression of the Rebels.

⁷ We meet with little worth observing after this, till the three and fortieth Year, ⁸ which was remarkable for the Death of the famous *Amrou*, of whom it is reported by Tradition, that *Mahomet* said, *There is no truer Mulleman, nor more stedfast in the Faith than Amrou*. He was in the Wars of *Syria*, where he behaved himself with singular Courage and Resolution: Always excellent in his Advice, and steady in the Execution. Afterwards *Omar* sent him into *Ægypt*, which he Conquered, and was made Lieutenant there. *Othman* continued him in that Post four Years, and then removed him: Upon which he retired and lived privately in *Palestine*. After *Othman's* Death, he went over to *Moawiyah* upon his Invitation; and had a great share in all that Controversy between *Ali* and *Moawiyah*, who continued him in the Lieutenancy of *Ægypt* till his Death, allowing him all the Revenues of that rich Country, upon Condition that he should maintain the Forces that were kept there.

He was justly reckoned one of the most considerable Men among the *Arabians*, both upon the account of the quickness of his natural Parts,

⁸ MS. *Hunt. Num.* 495. *An. Heg.* 43. *cœpit. Ap.* 14. A. C. 663.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 43.
cœpit Apr. 4.
A. C. 663.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 43.
cæpit Apr. 14.
A. C. 663.

his Valour and good Judgment. Before he turned *Mahometan*, he was one of those three Poets that used to write Lampoons upon *Mahomet*, in which he excelled. There are some fine Proverbs of his remaining (they are my Author's words for we never saw them) and good Verses. His dying Speech to his Children, is Pathetick and Masculine. If I had had a more perfect Copy of it, I would have inserted it. He laments in it very much, his ever having exercised his Wit in exposing the Prophet.

The same Year died *Abdollah Ben Salem* a Jewish Rabbin, who had turned *Mahometan* sometimes: He used to say that when *Mahomet* came first to *Medinah*, he used to press amongst the Crowd to get a sight of him; and that at the first glance he perceived that he had nothing in his Countenance that looked like an Impostor.

³ We have before observed, that *Ziyad* was in *Ali's* Reign made Lieutenant of *Persia*. Which Office he discharged very much to his own Reputation, and the Advantage of the People. He was a Man of incomparable Parts, and prodigious greatness of Spirit. He was *Moawiyah's* Brother by the Father's side, but a Bastard: And old *Abu Sophyan* durst not own him for fear of *Omar's* Severity. He was born in the Year of the *Hegirah*, and as he grew up

³ An Heg. 44. cæpit Apr. 3. A. C. 664.

quickly distinguished himself, by his great Abilities and masterly Eloquence, to such a degree, that once in the Reign of *Omar* at a meeting of the *Companions*, he was so much taken notice of, that *Amrou* said; had the Father of this Youth been of the Family of the *Coreish*, he would have driven all the *Arabians* before him with his Walking-Stick. *Moawiyah* was resolved to secure him in his Interest; and he thought no way so proper, as by owning him publickly to be his Brother. *Ziyàd* in *Omar's* time was made a *Cadi* or Judge; and when Witnesses came before him, accusing *Almogéirah* of Incontinency; whether out of Favour, or because they failed in their Proof, he dismissed *Almogéirah*, and scourged the Witnesses severely. This endeared him to *Almogéirah* for ever after. *Ziyàd* having been placed in the Lieutenancy of *Persia* by *Ali*, upon *Hasan's* Resignation to *Moawiyah*, he kept at a distance, and refused to acknowledge his Government. This gave *Moawiyah* no small uneasiness, who was extremely afraid that *Ziyàd* should strike in with the Family of *Hassem*, and embroil his Affairs by renewing the War. *Moawiyah* had given the Lieutenancy of *Cush* to *Almogéirah*; who making him a Visit in the forty second Year, *Moawiyah* acquainted him with the Causes of his Uneasiness; who asked his leave to go to him, to which he consented,

and

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 44.
cæpit Apr. 3.
A. C. 664.

Moawiyah I. and sent a civil Letter by him with a kind Invitation. *Mogeirah* made so good Use of his Friendship with *Ziyàd*, that he never ceased importuning him till he had prevailed upon him to go along with him to *Moawiyah*. Where he was no sooner arrived, but he immediately acknowledged him *Chaliph*. Soon after which, *Moawiyah* owned him to be his Brother by the Father's side, which was done by producing the Evidence of the Conversation between *Ziyàd*'s Mother and *Abu Sophyan*.

Abu Sophyan, in the Days of Ignorance, before drinking Wine was made a Sin by the *Alcoran*, travelling in *Thayef*, refreshed himself at a Publick House; where he lay with this *Ziyàd*'s Mother who was then married to a *Greek Slave*. The old Man that kept the House was yet Alive; and *Moawiyah*, to own *Ziyàd* in as publick a manner as might be, upon a set Day in a full Assembly, examined him, touching the Conversation of *Abu Sophyan* with *Somyah*. The old Man gave in such a strong Evidence, as would have passed for a very good Proof in the Case of Impotency. *Ziyàd* was angry, and said that he was called for to bring Proof, and not Scandal. However by this means he was acknowledged to be a true *Arabian*, of the noble Blood of the Family of the *Coreish*; which though illegitimate, was a greater Honour than he could ever

ever otherways have obtained to: For let his Atchievements have been never so great, he must still have undergone some Reflection upon the account of the Baseness of his Original.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 44.
capit Apr. 3.
A. C. 664.

³ It is observed, that this is the first time that ever the Law, that is the *Alcoran*, was openly violated in a judicial way of proceeding. For the Child belonged to his legal Father, the *Greek Slave* that married his Mother: And *Mahomet* had left it as a Decision in such Cases; *The Child to the Blankets, and the Whore to the Stone*. That is, Bring up the Child, and stone the Whore. *Moawiyah's* Relations stormed and were quite out of Patience, they said that he had not only introduced a Son of a Whore into the Family, to the disparagement of all their Kindred; but had raked into the Ashes of old *Abu Sophyan* his Father, who had lived and died with a good Reputation. *Moawiyah* could bear all their Complaints very patiently. He knew he had gained his point, and secured entirely in his Interest the greatest Man of the Age.

Abdollah the Son of *Amar* was at this time Governor of *Basorah*; whom *Moawiyah* removed, as unequal to that Charge, because of the too great Gentleness of his Disposition: For the Country was quite over-run with Thieves and Murderers for want of Discipline. He for his part never

³ *Abulpheda*.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 45.
cœp. Mart. 23.
A.C. 664.

cared to punish any, but inclined rather to win them by the sweetness of his Temper, and a gentle Behaviour. The People, insupportably afflicted with this Grievance, made their Complaint to *Moawiyah*; who put in *Hareth* for a little time; but quickly after made them amends ⁵ for *Abdollah's* Lenity, by sending them *Ziyad* who drew the Sword and chastised their Insolence with exemplary Punishments. When he came to *Basorah* things were in such a bad Condition that there was hardly any walking the Streets; but especially in the Night, which was always full of Disorder and Bloodshed. He made a very severe Speech to them, at which he had an excellent Talent, being reckoned the best Orator next to *Ali*, ⁶ who never had any Equal. One of the Polite *Arabians* used to say That he never in his Life heard a Man speak well, but he wished he would have done, being in pain for him, lest he should fall beneath himself and speak worse; *Ziyad* only excepted, for the more he spoke the more he excelled. In this Speech he acquainted them that he was very well apprised of the lamentable Condition they were in, upon the account of these Disorders: And that he was resolved to put an end to them. He next published an Order, ⁷ forbidding any Person of what

⁵ An Heg. 45. cœpit Mart. 23. A.C. 664. ⁶ MS. Hunt.
⁷ D'Herbelot.

Quality soever to be found abroad in the Streets, or in any publick Place, after the Hour of Evening Prayer upon pain of Death. And to put his Order in Execution, he appointed a strong Watch to go the Rounds, and put to the Sword every one they met out of their Houses after that Hour. There were two Hundred Persons killed the first Night, but five the Second, and no Blood at all shed in the Third.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 45.
æp. Mart. 23.
A. C. 664.

Besides the Lieutenancy of *Basorah*, *Moawiyah* gave him those of *Chorasan*, *Sejestan*, *India*, *Babrein* and *Amman*. Not unadvisedly: For the more he committed to his Care, so much the lighter to himself was the Burthen of his Government. The very Name of *Ziyad* made all the Villains within the Precincts of his Government tremble. He was not savage nor cruel in his Temper: But strictly just, and absolute in his way of governing: Impatient of the least neglect of his Commands; and one that would not abate an Ace of his Authority. But notwithstanding all his Greatness, he met with a Rebuff in this five and fortieth Year; which it is uncertain how he would have resented, if the Person that offered it had lived a little longer.

* He had sent *Hakem* the Son of *Amar* to take a place called Mount *Ashal*; *Hakem* succeeded very well in the Enterprize, killed a great Num-

* MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 45.
æp. Mart. 23.
A. C. 664.

ber of the Enemy; and brought off all the Riches of the Place. Upon this *Ziyàd* sends him word, that he had received a Letter from *Moawiyah*, the Emperor of the Faithful, commanding him to lay apart all the White and Yellow, meaning the Silver and Gold, belonging to this Spoil, that it might be put into the Treasury. Now as to this Particular, there is a decisive Rule in the *Alcoran*: There being ⁸ a Chapter made on purpose, occasioned by a Mutiny among *Mahomet's* Soldiers, about the division of the Spoil. That is, that after any Victory there shall first be taken out a fifth Part of the Spoils to be reserved for the Treasury; and the rest be divided among the Soldiers. *Hakem* stuck close to the Text of the *Alcoran*, and sent *Ziyàd* word that the Authority of the Book of God was superior to that of the Emperor of the Faithful's Letter; and that hath it thus, *Though the Heavens and the Earth conspired together against a Servant of God, who put his trust in him, he would find him a secure place of Refuge, and a means of Deliverance.* Then he laid aside the fifth Part according to the Text; and divided the Spoil among the Soldiers. After this, (for he expected no Mercy) he said, *O God! if I be in thy Favour take me.* His Request was granted; and he died quickly after.

⁸ *Surat' alanphal.* The Chapter of Spoils; which is the eighth.

This same Year *Zeid* the Son of *Thabet*, one of *Mahomet's* Secretaries when he dictated the *Alcoran*, died. He wrote that Copy which was used by the *Chaliphs* or *Imàms* at the Command of *Othman* the Son of *Affàn*.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 45.
cœp. Mart. 23.
A. C. 664.

⁸ My Author had seen it, and adds, that all he had seen of his Writing was an extraordinary fair strong Hand. This *Zeid* was a Man of the greatest Parts of any in his Age. He learned *Hebrew* in fifteen Days, so as to be able to read the Books of the *Jews*. He learned *Persian* of one of *Cosroes* his Ambassadors in eighteen Days; and he learned *Æthiopick*, *Greek* and *Coptick* of one of *Mahomet's* Slaves. He was fifteen Years old at the Battel of *the Ditch*. He was the most pleasant facetious Man in the World at home, and the most reserved when he went abroad. Once he saw the People coming from Prayers, and he made what Haste he could to get out of the Way from them, like one that did not care to be seen. He used to say, *He that doth not reverence Men will not reverence God*.

This Year *Merwàn* the Son of *Hákem* went on Pilgrimage to *Meccah*; he was Governor of *Medinah*.

⁹ The next Year *Abdorrhàmàn* Son of *Caled* the Great was poisoned in *Syria*: Occasioned

^{*} MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495. ⁹ *Altabari.* *Moawiyah* I. *An.* Heg. 46. cœpit Mart. 13. A. C. 666.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 46.
cap. Mart. 13.
A. C. 666.

by *Moawiyah's* Jealousy. For the Soldiers, those especially who had been Witnesses of his Father's Valour and Conduct, to whom he appeared no way inferior, favoured him to that degree that *Moawiyah* was afraid of him; and during his Absence upon an Expedition against the *Greeks*, tampered with a Christian Servant of his to Poison him, upon promise not only to remit him his own Tribute, but to give him the Lieutenancy of *Hems*. Upon *Abdorrhman's* return, the Conditions were punctually performed on both sides; but he did not long enjoy the Reward of his Perfidiousness; for *Caled* the Son of *Abdorrhman* receiving Information of it, came into *Syria*, and revenged his Father's Death upon that wicked Slave: Upon which *Moawiyah* imprisoned him for a time; and made him pay the Money for the Expiation of Murther: Afterwards he dismissed him, and returned to *Medinah*.

Not long after this, happened the Death of a very great Man among the Followers of *Ali*.⁶ His Name was *Hejer*, a Person remarkable for for his singular Abstinence, Piety, and strictness of Life, constant Purification according to the *Mahometan* Law, and exactness in observing the Hours of Devotion. He lived at *Cusab*. It was the Custom for *Moawiyah* and his Lieutenants every *Friday* in their Harangues to the People to exceed in the Praise and Commendation of

⁶ *Abulpheda*.

Othman, and rail at and revile *Ali*. This was done by *Almogéirab* when he was Lieutenant of *Cufah*, more out of Complaisance to *Moawiyah*, than any Inclination of his own. As he was one Day pronouncing these Reproaches against *Ali*, *Hejer* and his Company stood up, and interrupted him, and returned the ill Language back again upon himself: But *Mogeirab* passed it by and forgave them, without taking any further notice. *Ziyàd* was not so gentle upon the same provoking occasion. He used to divide the Year into two equal Parts: Six Months he resided at *Cufah*; the other six at *Basorah*. Coming according to his Custom to *Cufah*, in his Harangue he called *Ali* by the Name of *Abu Toráb*, which signifies in Arabick, *Father of Dust*, or *Dusty* (for it is common with the Arabians to use the Word *Father* in such Cases.) This was the most acceptable Nick-name to *Ali* in the World, having been given him by *Mahomet* himself. *Hejer*, resolved to affront him, stood up and said, He seems to have designed a Compliment to *Ali*. This provoked *Ziyàd* to such a degree that he immediately seized him, and thirteen more of his Companions, and sent them in Chains to *Moawiyah*.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 46.
æp. Mart. 13.
A. C. 666.

³ But though this was the end of it; there were several preceding Provocations. For before this, *Hejer* being so Popular for his Piety, and

³ *Ebno'l Athir*. MS. *Hunt*.

Moawiyah I. such an avowed Enemy to *Moawiyah*, and
 An. Heg. 46. Friend of *Ali* and his Party; *Ziyàd* would have
 cep. Mart. 13. carried him along with him to *Basorah* from *Cu-*
 A. C. 666. *fah*; for fear he should make any Disturbance.
Hejer said that he was indisposed. *Ziyàd* an-
 swered angrily, that he knew he was indisposed
 as to his Religion, Heart and Understanding;
 adding with an Oath that if he dared to raise
 any Commotion, he should have an Eye over
 him. Another time when *Ziyàd* was making a
 Speech to the People, he stood so long that the
 Hour of Prayer was come. *Hejer*, who was the
 strictest Man alive in all things belonging to the
 exercise of his Religion, cryed out *Salàt*, to
 Prayers: *Ziyàd* took no notice of it, but still
 went on with his Discourse. *Hejer*, fearing lest
 the time should be past, began the Prayers in
 the Congregation himself, upon which *Ziyàd*
 was forced to break off, and come down and
 joyn with them. This Affront he never for-
 gave, looking upon it as a great Diminution of
 his Character, but wrote a long Letter to *Moawiyah*, aggravating the Matter, and desiring that
 he might put him in Irons, and send him to him.
 This last Time *Ziyàd* was forced to take a Jour-
 ney on purpose from *Basorah* to *Cufah*, upon
 Information that *Hejer* and the Company had
 refused to acknowledge his Lieutenant there;
 and used to throw Dust at him when he was in
 his Pulpit. This obliged *Ziyàd* to come back
 to

to *Eufab*, where, cloathed in a Silk Cassock, and a Vest of Gold Brocade, he went into the Pulpit himself, and made a severe Speech to the People, telling them, He should make but a very insignificant Figure in his Post if he suffered his Authority to be thus set at nought and trampled upon, without making an Example of *Hejer*. In his Oration he frequently, as Occasion served, used these Words, *And it belongs to the Emperor of the Faithful*; at which *Hejer* took up an Handful of Dust and flung at him, with these Words, *God curse thee, thou lyeſt*: Whereupon *Ziyàd* came down and went to Prayers among the People. Then retiring to the Castle he sent for *Hejer*, who refusing to come, he sent a Party to fetch him, between whom and *Hejer's* Friends there was a little Skirmish with Stones and Cudgels, so that they did not carry him off that Time; but he was taken soon after and sent to *Moawiyah*, attended with a sufficient Number of Witnesses to testify against him, that he had spoken reproachfully of the *Chaliph*, affronted the Emir (*Ziyàd*) and affirmed, that the Government did not belong to any of right, but only to the Family of *Ali*. *Moawiyah* sent some Officers with Orders to put them to Death, and Authors differ as to the Circumstance of their being admitted into his Presence or not. *Gadrah*, a Village on the

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 46.
æp. Mart. 13.
A. C. 666.

Moawiyah I. Back-side of *Damascus*, was the Place appointed
 An. Heg. 46. for their Execution ; and during their Stay there,
 cæp. Mart. 13. *Moawiyah* advised with his Friends how they
 A. C. 666. should be disposed of. Some were for putting
 them to Death, others for dispersing them
 through the several Territories of his vast Do-
 minions. *Ziyâd* sent him Word, that if he had
 any Occasion for the *Kingdom* of *Irâk*, they
 must dye. The chief Men of the Court begged
 off six of them. When *Hejer* was come near
 the Place of Execution, he desired Space to
 wash himself, which he always punctually ob-
 served, after which he said two short Prayers,
 and rising up, said, If I had been afraid of Death
 I could have made them longer ; but when he
 saw his Grave digged ready for him, his Wind-
 ing-Sheet spread out, and the Executioner's
 Sword drawn, he was observed to tremble.
 Whereupon, being asked if he did not say that
 he was not afraid : He asked again, How should
 it be possible not to be moved at such a Pros-
 pect ? The Executioner bad him stretch out his
 Neck streight ; he answered he would not be
 assistant to his own Death. Then his Head was
 immediately struck off ; his Body was washed,
 and he was buried in his Chains according to
 his own Directions.

Ayesha had sent a Messenger to intercede for
 him, who arrived too late. Afterwards when

Moaw-

Moawiyah went to *Medinah*, he visited *Ayesha*, who said to him from behind the Curtain, *What was become of your Compassion*, *Moawiyah*, when you killed *Hejer* and his Companions? I lose that, *Mother*, said he, when I am absent from such Persons as you are.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 46.
cœpit Maii 13.
A. C. 666.

¹ About the latter End of the eight and fortieth Year, *Moawiyah* sent his Son *Yezid* with a powerful Army to besiege *Constantinople*: Our Authors give us no Account of the Particulars of that Siege, but only mention three or four of the most eminent of the *Companions*, whose Zeal, notwithstanding their great Age, prompted them to undergo such Fatigue and Hazard. The Army suffered the Extremity of Hardship in their March; but they had a ² Tradition sufficient to encourage them, it being no less than a Plenary Indulgence; *Mahomet* having said, *The Sins of the first Army that takes the City of Cæsar are forgiven*. Here it was that the famous *Abu Jyub* was killed, who had been with *Mahomet* at the Battels of *Beder* and *Obud*: His Tomb is held in such Veneration, ³ that to this very Day the Emperors of the *Ottoman* Family go to it to have their Swords girt on, upon their Accession to the Throne.

⁴ In the fiftieth Year died *Almogéirah* the Governour of *Cufah*. There had been a great

¹ Anno 48. ² MS. Hunt. Numb. 495. *Albochâri*.

³ D' Herbelot. ⁴ An. Heg. 50. cœpit Jan. 28. A. C. 670.

Moawiyah I. Plague raging there, which made him retire;
 An. Heg. 50. but upon its ceasing he returned and died of it.
cœpit Jan. 28. He was an active Man, and of very good Parts;
A. C. 670. he had lost one of his Eyes at the Battel of *Yermouk*, though some will have it that it was with looking upon an Eclipse. He was accounted to of the wrong Party, and one of the chief of them; for thus they reckon; there are five Elders on *Ali's* Side. *Mahomet, Ali, Phatemah, Hasan, Hosein*; and their Opposites are, *Abubeker, Omar, Moawiyah, Amrou* and *Mogéirah*.

The same Year *Kairwàn*, the Metropolis of that Province which is properly called *Africa*, was built, though not finished till the fifty fifth Year. ⁷ It lies thirty three Leagues distant from *Carthage*, towards the *North East*, and twelve from the Sea: The Account they give of it is, that *Moawiyah* having constituted *Okbah* Governour of the Province of *Africa*, he put all those to the Sword that had revolted from *Mahometanism*; for it was their Custom upon the Approach of the *Saracen* Army to make Profession of it, and upon their Departure to return to their old Religion again. The Place of the Governour's Residence before was in *Zeweilah* and *Barca*; wherefore *Okbah* resolving to have a Garrison thereabouts to keep them in Awe, pitched upon *Kairwàn*; and because his March had been interrupted and perplexed by the Woodiness of

⁷ *Abulpheda. Golius in Alfergak p. 162. Ebno'l Athir.*

the Country, which was full of wild Beasts and Serpents; he felled all the Trees round about in that Neighbourhood, and bestowed them in the Building. This City was of great Use to them for keeping the Country in Subjection; and it being remote from the Sea, and bordering upon the Defart, rendered them secure from the Invasions of the *Sicilian* and *Roman* Navies; so that afterwars it became a flourishing City, considerable not only for its publick and private Buildings, Riches and the like, but also for the Study of the Sciences and polite Literature.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 50.
capit Jan. 28.
A. C. 660.

⁷ This same Year is remarkable for the Death of one *Rabha*, who was one of the earliest Professors of *Mahometanism*; he was not present at the Battle of *Beder*. *Mahomet* used to say of him, That of all the Men he had ever seen, *Rabha* did most resemble the Angel *Gabriel*. ⁸ The Year after *Saëd Ben Zend* died; he was the last of those (I think they were ten in all) that had a positive Promise of Paradise.

⁹ About this time *Moawiyah*, who kept his constant Residence at *Damascus*, had a Fancy to remove *Mahomet's* Pulpit thither from *Medinah*. He said, That the Walking-Stick and Pulpit of the Apostle of God should not remain in the Hands of the Murderers of *Othman*. Great

⁷ *Abulpheda*. ⁸ An. 51, 52. ⁹ *Ebno'l Athîr*. *Altabari*.

It must be in the Year 54, for then there was an Eclipse of the Sun.

Moawiyah I. Search was made for the Walking-Stick, and at
 An. Heg. 50. last they found it. Then they went, in Obedi-
 caput Jan. 28. ence to his Commands, to remove the Pulpit ;
 A. C. 670. when immediately, to their great Surprize and
 and Astonishment, the Sun was eclipsed to that
 Degree that the Stars appeared. This put them
 all into a great Consternation, for they looked
 upon it as a manifest Indication of the Divine
 Displeasure, for their presuming to lay Hands
 upon the Apostle's Pulpit, in order to remove it
 from the Place where he had set it himself.
 This made them desist from their Enterprize,
 and the *Medinians* were left in the peaceable
 Possession of this holy Relick ; till some Years
 afterwards, *Abdôlmelik* had a mind to it ; but
 one of the *Medinians* said to him, *For God's Sake*
do not attempt such a Thing, for Moawiyah did
but move it once and the Sun was eclipsed ! He
 urged besides a Tradition from *Mahomet*, who
 had said, *Whoſoever ſhall ſwear upon my Pulpit*
faſtly, Hell ſhall be his Manſion. And, added he,
 will you go and take it away from the *Me-*
dinians, when it is the Deciſion of their Contro-
verſies ? Upon this Representation *Abdôlmelik*
 forbore, and never mentioned it again. After
 him *Alwâled* in his Pilgrimage made the ſame
 Attempt, but when he ſent for it, his Meſ-
 ſenger received this Answer, *Bid your Maſter*
fear God, and not expoſe himſelf to the Divine
Diſ-

Displeasure; with which Answer *Alwâled* remained very well satisfied. Afterwards when *Solyman* the Son of *Abdôlmelik* came on Pilgrimage that Way, *Amrou*, the Son of *Abdolaziz*, was mentioning these Things to him; *I do not love*, answered *Solyman*, *to hear these Things mentioned either of the Emperor Abdôlmelik, or of Wâled, what have we to do with it? We have taken Possession of the World, and it is in our Hands, and we will stand to the Determination of the Musleman Doctors.*

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 53.
œpit Dec. 26.
A. C. 672.

² And now the famous *Ziyad's* Time was come. He died of the Plague on the third Day of the Month *Ramadân* in the fifty third Year of the *Hegirah*, which was his Age. ³ A little before he died he wrote a Letter to *Moawiyah*, acquainting him that he had reduced all *Irâk* into perfect Subjection to him from *North* to *South*, and begged of him to give him the Lieutenancy of *Arabia Petræa*. It is superfluous to add that it was granted, for it was not in *Moawiyah's* Power to deny him any Thing, shall I say, or rather that it was his Interest to have him employed every where if possible. ⁴ As soon as the *Arabians* heard of it they were under the greatest Concern in the World, for fear he should exercise his Tyranny over them

² An. Heg. 53. œpit Dec. 26. A. C. 672. ³ MS. Hunt. Num. 495. ⁴ *Ebno'l Athir*.

Moawiyah I. as he had done before upon the poor *Irakians*.
 An. Heg. 53. Upon the first News of it, the Son of *Amer* rose
cæpit Dec. 26. up and went to the Temple of *Meccha* to depre-
A. C. 672. cate his coming amongst them, ⁵ and the People
 prayed in Faith. *Ziyàd*, struck with the Plague,
 felt such an intollerable Pain in his Hand that
 he consulted a *Cadi*, in point of Conscience,
 whether it were better to cut it off or not. The
Cadi told him, That he was afraid, if his Time
 was come, he should go before God without
 that Hand, which was cut off to avoid the ap-
 pearing before him ; and if it was not come, he
 would remain lame among Men, which would
 be a ⁶ Reproach to his Child ; wherefore he was
 of Opinion, that live or die he had better let it
 alone ; and so left him. However, notwith-
 standing this grave Decision, *Ziyàd*, impatient
 of the Pain which increased every Moment, was
 resolved to have it cut off ; but when he saw
 the Fire, and the Cauterizing Irons, his Heart
 failed him. It is said, that he had about him no
 less than an Hundred and Fifty Physicians, three
 of which had belonged to *Cosfroes* the Son of
Hormuz King of *Persia*, but it was not in their
 Power to reverse the sealed Decree, nor the Thing
 that was determined. He had been *Moawiyah's*

⁵ *Arab. Waonâso Yûminûna.* ⁶ There is nothing more
 common among the *Arabians* than to nick-name Children
 from the Imperfections of their Parents, as to call such an
 one the Son of the Lame, or the Son of the Blind.

Lieutenant over *Irâk* five Years. He was buried near *Cufah*, which he passed by in his Journey towards *Arabia*, in order to take Possession of his new Government there. When *Abdollah*, the Son of *Amer*, heard of his Death, he said, *Go thy way, thou Son of Somyah ; this World did not stay with thee, neither hast thou attained to the other.*

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 53.
cæpit Dec. 26.
A. C. 672.

Upon *Almogéirah's* Death, *Moawiyah*, who could never do enough for his Brother *Ziyâd*, or rather for himself, added the Lieutenancy of *Cufah* to all those vast Territories he had entrusted him withal before. He was the first that joyned those two great Trusts of *Basorah* and *Cufah* together. When he came first to *Cufah*, having left *Basorah* to the Care of *Samrah*, in his first Speech he told the *Cusians*, That he once had Thoughts of bringing along with him two Thousand of his Guards, but recollecting that they were honest Men, he had brought no other Attendance but only his own Family. They threw Dust at him ; upon which he sat down and gave private Directions to some of his Domesticks to seize the Doors of the Mosque. Then he commanded every Man to seize his next Neighbour without pretending to excuse himself, by saying, he did not know who he was. This done, he placed himself upon a Seat near the Door, and had them brought before

Moawiyah I. him four by four; he made every one of them
 An. Heg. 53. swear distinctly, It was none of us four that
cœpit Dec. 26. threw Dust. Those that took the Oath he dis-
A. C. 672. missed, they that refused it were bound and laid
 aside: When he had thus gone through the
 whole Congregation, there remained thirty, and
 some say fourscore, that could not take the Oath,
 whose Hands were all immediately cut off upon
 the Place.

⁶ Not long after he entered upon his Govern-
 ment, he issued out an Order that every Citizen
 should leave his Door open all Night, engaging
 to be responsible for all the Damage that every
 particular Person should receive that way; and
 it happening one Night that some Cattle getting
 into a Shop, had put some Things out of Order;
 as soon as *Ziyàd* was informed of it, he gave
 every one leave to have a Hurdle or Rake at his
 Door; which continued in Use ever after, not
 only in *Basorah*, but in a great many other
 Towns of *Iràk*, of which he was Governour.

⁷ One Night his Archers that were upon the
 Watch, having met with a Shepherd coming
 through the Town with his Flock, carried him
 before *Ziyàd*: The Shepherd excused himself
 upon the account of his being a Stranger, and
 ignorant of the Order, which he had caused to

⁶ *D'Herbelot.* ⁷ *D'Herbelot of Khondemir.*

be published. *Ziyàd* said to him, I am willing to believe that what thou tellest me is true: But since the Safety of the Inhabitants of this Town depends upon thy Death, it is necessary that thou shouldest die; and instantly commanded his Head to be cut off.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 53.
capit Dec. 26.
A. C. 672.

² Now though *Ziyàd* was so strict in seeing his Orders punctually executed, and severe in inflicting exemplary Punishments, yet his Behaviour was gentle in respect of that of *Samrab* his Lieutenant at *Basorah*, who was abhorred by all Men for his Cruelty. *Ziyàd* himself was ashamed of it. For during *Ziyàd*'s six Months absence at *Cufah*, *Samrab* had put to Death no less than eight Thousand Persons at *Basorah*. *Ziyàd* asked him if he was not afraid lest in such a Number he might have put to Death one innocent Man. He answered, that he should be under no concern, if at the same time that he had killed them, he had killed so many more. *Abu Sawàr* said that he killed Seven and Forty of his Men one Morning, every one of which had got the *Alcoran* by heart.

Once as *Samrab*'s Horse went out, they met with a Countryman, and one of them struck him through with his Lance. They went on, and *Samrab* coming up after them, found the poor Man wallowing in his own Blood: En-

² *Ebnol Athir*. MS. *Hunt*. Num. 495.

Moawiyah I. quiring what was the Matter, he was answered,
 An. Heg. 53. that the Man meeting the Front of his Horse
cæpit Dec. 26. they had killed him. All that *Samrah* said to it
A. C. 672. was only repeating this Verse, *When you hear we
 are mounted beware of our Lances.*

When *Ziyâd* came to *Cufah* he enquired which was the most Religious Man there. They recommended to him one *Abulmogeirah*. He sent for him and told him, that if he would keep within his own Doors, and not go out, he would give him as much Money as he desired; the Religious told him, that if he would give him the Empire of the whole World, he would not omit going out to say his Prayers on the ³ *Congregation Day*. Well then, says *Ziyâd*, go to the Congregation, but do not talk about any thing. He said he could not help ⁴ *Encouraging that which is good, and reproving that which is Evil*. For which Answer *Ziyâd* commanded him to be Beheaded.

A little before his Death, he gathered the People together, and filled both Mosque, and Street, and Castle with them, in order to impose upon them the Renunciation of *Ali*. Whilst they were full of Vexation and Perplexity waiting for the Event, one of his Servants came out and told them, that they might go about their

³ *Yaumo'l Jôm-ah*. i. e. Friday. ⁴ It is a Precept frequently repeated in the *Alcoran*.

Business, for his Master was not at Leisure. The Plague had just then seized him, and they all looked upon it afterwards as a Providential Deliverance.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 53.
cæpit Dec. 26.
A.C. 672.

5 A Famous *Persian* Historian reports, that the Letter written by *Ziyàd* to *Moawiyah*, when he asked him for the Lieutenancy of *Arabia*, was expressed in these Terms. “ My left Hand “ is here Employed in governing the People of “ *Irâk* : All the mean time my right Hand re- “ mains idle. Give it *Arabia* to govern, and it “ will give you a good account of it.”

He adds, with some little Variation from my *Arabick* Author above-mentioned, that *Moawiyah* having granted him this Government, the principal Inhabitants of *Medinah*, who were afraid of his rough and violent Temper, were very much alarmed; and that *Abdollah* the Son of 6 *Zobeir* who was one of them made this publick Prayer to God, *Allahómma eṣṭaphi yemin ziyádihi. O God! Satisfy this right Hand, which is idle and superfluous to Ziyàd.* There is in these Words a very elegant Allusion to the Name of *Ziyàd*, which signifies in *Arabick*, *Abundant*, and *Superfluous*. And they say, that immediately after this Prayer there was a pesti-

5 *Khondemir*. see *D'Herbelot* in the word *Ziad*. 6 My Author says *Abdollah* the Son of *Amer*.

Moawiyah I. lential Ulcer in one of his Fingers of his right
 An. Heg. 53. Hand, of which he died a few Days after.
 æpit Dec. 26.
 A. C. 672.

There was afterwards a Dynasty of Princes of his Posterity in *Arabia Fælix*, who Reigned under the Name of the *Children of Ziyâd*.

There were several Persons, both of the Sect of *Ali*, and of the *Karegites* or Hereticks that endeavoured to disturb *Ziyâd's* Administration, but these Commotions were soon extinguished by his excellent Conduct. The Particulars are to be found at large in our Historians, but I have purposely omitted them, because they would only interrupt the Thread of our History; and contribute nothing either to the Character of any great Man, or the giving light to the Customs and Genius of the People.

This same Fifty third Year *Jabalab*, the Son of *Ayham*, the last King of the Tribe of *Gasan*, who were Christian *Arabs*, and of whom we have given a large account in the former Volume, died.

⁸ We now return to *Moawiyah*, who in the Fifty fourth Year deposed *Saëd* from the Government of *Medinah*, and restored *Merwân* the Son of *Hakem* to it again. Then he wrote to *Merwân* to demolish *Saëd's* House, and seize all his Effects that were in *Hejaz*. *Merwân* came to execute the *Caliph's* Command, and brought

⁸ *Ebno'l Athir MS. Hunt. Num. 495.*

his Mule along with him to carry away whatsoever he found of most Value. *Saëd* was surprised, and told him he hoped he would not serve him so. *Merwân* answered, it must needs be so: Adding, if *Moawiyah* had commanded you to have pulled down my House, when you were Governour, you would have done it. Upon this *Saëd*, produced a Letter of the *Caliph's* to himself, when he was Governor, commanding him to demolish *Merwân's* House: Which out of Friendship he had ventured to disobey, and by so doing incurred the displeasure of the *Caliph*. *Merwan* was surprised at this, and readily acknowledged the superior Generosity of *Saëd's* Temper. They both easily perceived that this was only a Contrivance of the *Caliph's* to set them at Variance, but it proved the occasion of uniting them in a stricter Friendship. *Merwân* never left interceding with *Moawiyah*, till he desisted from urging the Execution of that unjust Command. *Moawiyah* was himself afterwards ashamed of his ungenerous Dealing, and asked their Pardon.

This Year *Moawiyah* deposed *Samrah*, who was *Ziyâd's* Deputy over *Basorah*. As soon as *Samrah* heard the News he said, God curse *Moawiyah*: *If I had served God so well as I have served him, he would never have damned me to all Eternity.* One of my Authors tells this without

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 54.
cæpit Dec. 15.
A. C. 673.

Moawiyah I. any reserve : Another seems to scruple the truth
 An. Heg. 54. of it.

œpit Dec. 15.

A. C. 673.

Ziyàd being dead, *Obeidollah* his Son came to pay his Duty to *Moawiyah*, who received him very courteously, and enquired of him concerning the Characters and Behaviour of his Father's Deputies in their respective Provinces. He gave him such a satisfactory Account, that he made him Lieutenant of *Chorasan*, when he was but Five and twenty Years Old. He went to his Charge, and passed over the River as far as the Mountains of *Bochára*. There he encountered the *Turks*, and having fought them bravely, he put them to such a precipitate Flight, that the *Turkish* Queen had only time to put on one of her Buskins, and left the other behind her to the *Arabians*, who valued it at two Thousand pieces of Gold.

* *Obeidollah* the Son of *Ziyàd* did not continue long in his Lieutenancy of *Chorasan*, but was removed to *Basorah*; instead of *Abdollah* the Son of *Amrou*, who was there before. The Occasion was this. A leading Man of one of the Tribes of the *Arabs* threw Dust at him, whilst he was Preaching. He followed *Ziyàd's* Example, and commanded his Hand to be cut off. Upon this some of the same Tribe came to *Abdollah* and told him, that if the Emperor of the

* An. Heg. 55. œpit. Dec. 5. A. C. 674.

Faithful should know that he had cut off the the Man's Hand for such an Action, he would deal with him, and all that belonged to him, as he had done by *Hejer* and his Companions. Wherefore, added they, give it us under your hand, that you did it indiscreetly. This he foolishly complied with, imagining to pacify them by doing it, whom he knew to be sufficiently provoked. They kept the Paper by them for a time, and went with it afterwards to *Moawiyah*, complaining that his Deputy over *Basorah* had cut off their Master's Hand upon an Uncertainty; and desired of him to execute the Law of Retaliation upon him. ³ *Moawiyah* said, they could have no Retaliation against his Deputy; but a Mulct they should have: Which was accordingly paid out of the Treasury. And *Abdollah*, to satisfy them, was deposed from his Lieutenancy, and *Obeidollah* the Son of *Ziyad* substituted in his Room. *Obeidollah* left *Chorasan* to one *Aslam* a worthless Man, who did nothing in the Place that deserves notice. This same Year *Merwan*, the Son of *Hakem*, and Governor of *Medinah*, conducted the Pilgrims to *Meccah*.

⁴ The next Year *Moawiyah* made *Saëd*, who was *Othman's* Grandson, Lieutenant of *Chora-*

³ MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495. ⁴ *An Heg.* 56. *cœpit* Nov. 24. A. C. 675.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 55.
cœpit Dec. 5.
A. C. 674.

Moawiyah I. *san*, who passing over the River *Jibon*, formerly *Oxus*, went to *Samarcand*, ¹ (afterwards the Capital of the great *Tamerlane*) and *Sogd*. Having there routed the Idolaters he went to *Tarmud*, which surrendered to him.

Hitherto the Government had been Elective; but *Moawiyah* designed if possible to secure the Succession in his own Family, and make it Hereditary. ² For this end he used all the means imaginable to oblige the People to declare his Son *Yezid* his Heir and Successor. He entertained some thoughts of it formerly in the Days of *Almogéirah*. It seems *Almogéirah* had come to *Moawiyah*, to beg leave to resign the Lieutenancy of *Cusab*; which *Moawiyah* granted him, in consideration of his great Age and Infirmities; and designed to put *Saëd* the Son of *Aas* into his Place. When *Almogéirah* heard this, he repented himself of what he had done: and advised *Yezid* to go to his Father, and desire him to nominate him his Heir. Upon his coming with this Advice, *Moawiyah* asked him who bad him do so. He told him *Almogéirah*; which surprised *Moawiyah*, and he restored him immediately to his Lieutenancy of *Cusab*. However this Proposal wrought upon *Moawiyah's* Thoughts so, that he wrote to *Ziyad* to ask his Advice about it; who did not approve of it by

² *Abulphéda*. MS. *Hunt*.

any means, because he knew that *Yezid* was a profligate young Fellow, wholly given up to Sporting, Gaming and Drinking. Wherefore he sent an intimate Friend of his to *Damascus*, to divert both the Father and the Son from this Project. This Friend first applied himself to *Yezid*, and satisfied him that it would be much better to desist, at least for the Present: Afterwards he talked with *Moawiyah*; till at last they concluded to lay it aside. Thus it rested so long as *Ziyad* lived, till now in this Fifty sixth Year, *Moawiyah*, who was always fond of it, from the time it was first mentioned to him, received it again in good earnest, and wrote circular Letters about it to all the Provinces. The *Syrians* and *Irakians* came in to it. *Malec*, who was then Governor of *Medinah*, would have had him proclaimed in that City Heir Apparent to his Father: But *Hosein* the Son of *Ali*, *Abdollah* the Son of *Amer*, *Abdorrhman* the Son of *Abubeker* and *Ayesha*'s Brother, and *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir*, absolutely refused it. Their refusal kept the People back. *Moawiyah*, to encourage the Matter with his Presence, went in Person to *Medinah*, with a Thousand Horse. He had a Conference with *Ayesha* about it, and the Result was, that the People in general of the Province of *Hejaz* came in; but those four before mentioned with their Adherents stood it out to the

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 56.
cæpit Nov. 24.
A. C. 675.

Moawiyah I. the last; though *Moawiyah* blustered in the
 An. Heg. 56. Mosque, and would have terrified them if he
 capit Nov. 24. could; they stood their ground resolutely, and
 A.C. 675. let him see by their Answers that they despised
 his Threats; and though he was vehemently
 angry, he durst not offer any violence, for they
 were too considerable, and too Popular to suffer
 any Compulsion.

5 After this *Moawiyah* (or *Moawie*) took an
 opportunity of saying to his Son *Yezid*, "Look
 " you, you see I have made the Way plain be-
 " fore you: There is none that refuses to come
 " in, except only these four. *Hosein* has the
 " *Irakians* in his Interest, who will never let
 " him rest at quiet till they draw him out into
 " the Field: Remember he is your near Re-
 " lation, and a Man of a perfect Merit, where-
 " fore if he comes under your Power let him
 " go. *Abdollah* the Son of *Amer* is a Man whol-
 " ly given up to Devotion; and when no body
 " else stands out he will come in. As for *Ab-*
 " *dorrahman*, he is a Man that is guided wholly
 " by Example, what he sees other People do,
 " that he does too. He minds nothing but Wo-
 " men and Play. But the Man that will attack
 " thee with the Strength of the Lion, and the
 " Subtilty of the Fox, is *Abdollah* the Son of

5 MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

“ *Zobéir* ; if you get him into your Power, cut
“ him all to Pieces.”

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 58.
cæpit Nov. 2.
A.C. 677.

⁶ In the Fifty eighth Year died *Ayesha*, *Abubeker's* Daughter, who had that Name from her ; for *Becr* in *Arabick* signifies a Girl, and *Abu*, Father. *Mahomet* marrying his Daughter *Ayesha* when she was very Young, his Name was changed into *Abubecr*, that is the Father of the Girl. She survived her Husband *Mahomet* a long time, who died in the Eleventh Year of the *Hegirah*. She was always treated with the utmost Respect, except only that time when she exposed herself in that Expedition against *Ali*. Sometimes she was called *Prophetess*, and generally when any one spoke to her, he qualified her with the Title of *Mother of the Faithful*. Her Brother *Abdorrhman*, one of those four that stood out against *Yezid's* Inauguration, died this same Year.

⁷ The next Year died *Abu Hureirah*, that is the *Father of the Cat* ; so Nick-named by *Mahomet*, because of his fondness of a Cat, which he always carried about with him. He was called so constantly by this Name, that his true Name is not known, nor his Pedigree. He was such a constant Attendant upon *Mahomet*, that there are a great many Traditions go under his

⁸ An. Heg. 58. cæpit Nov. 2. A. C. 677. *Abulpheda* :
An. Heg. 59. cæpit Oct. 22. A. C. 678.

Name.

Moawiyah I. Name. So many, that the Multitude of them
 An. Heg. 59. make People suspect them: Though others re-
 capit Nov. 22. ceive them all, as of an undoubted Authority,
 A. C. 678. without the least Hesitation.

‘ I find nothing worth remarking between this great Attempt of *Moawiyah*, in changing an elective Monarchy, into an Hereditary one, and his Death. Great it may very justly be called, considering not only the strength of *Ali*’s Party, who though kept under for the present, would be sure to fall into any Measures opposite to *Moawiyah* their mortal Enemy; But also that there were several left of the old *Society* of the Apostle, who expected the Dissolution of *Moawiyah*, with no less Impatience than the Papable Cardinals long for the Possession of the Apostolick Chair. Besides that *Yezid*’s Character was so obnoxious, that whatsoever it might seem in his Father’s Eyes, his Uncle *Ziyad*, who had both Capacity and Experience enough to understand Men, and Courage enough to govern them, thought it too Unpopular to be proposed to the Provinces. Yet notwithstanding all these Difficulties, *Moawiyah* so managed the Matter, that the Son was more secure of succeeding the Father, than could have been supposed, considering the very Attempt was a perfect Imposition and Innovation, and there was

‘ Anno 60.

such

such a vigorous Opposition to be expected. ¹ As soon as it was over, *Yezid* sat and gave Audience to the Ambassadors, who were sent from all the Countries round to proffer their Allegiance, and Congratulate him. Amongst the rest came old *Alabnaph*, who was *Yezid*'s Uncle. *Moawiyah*, who was very fond of his Son, bad *Alabnaph* discourse him; and to give him a fair Opportunity of trying his Parts, left them some time alone. When *Alabnaph* came out, *Moawiyah* asked him what he thought of his Nephew. The old Man very gravely answered, *If we lye we are afraid of God; if we speak Truth we are afraid of you. You know best both his Night and his Day: His inside and his outside: His coming in and his going out: And you know best what you design to do: It is our business to hear and obey: Yours to give Counsel to the People.*

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 60.
capit Oct. 12.
A. C. 679.

It was part of the Agreement between *Moawiyah* and *Hasan*, that after *Moawiyah*'s Decease, the Government should return to *Hasan*; but he being dead, *Moawiyah*'s Thoughts were entirely bent upon his own Son *Yezid*; and there either really was in him, or else Paternal Tenderness made him fancy it, something so Grand and Majestick, and a Capacity so well fitted for the Government of a mighty Empire; that his Father grew every Day more fond of him than

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 60.
cepit Off. 12.
A. C. 679.

other; and though in other Respects, a wise and prudent Man, yet could not help frequently expressing in Conversation the great Opinion he entertained of his Abilities. It is said, that once in one of his Harangues to the People after this business was over, he said, *O God! If thou knowest that I have settled the Government upon him, because according to the best of my Judgment I think him qualified for it, confirm it to him! But if I have done it out of Affection confirm it not!*

⁸ The last Speech he made in Publick, when he perceived himself in a weak Condition, was to this Purpose: “ I am like the Corn that is
“ to be reaped, and I have governed you a long
“ time till we are both weary of one another;
“ both willing to part. I am superior to who-
“ soever shall come after me; as my Predecess-
“ sors were superior to me. Whosoever loves to
“ meet God, God loves to meet him. O God!
“ I love to meet thee! do thou love to meet me!”
He had not walked far after this before he was taken very ill. ⁹ When he perceived Death approaching, his Son *Yezid* being absent, he called the Captain of his Guards to him, and another faithful Servant, and said to them, Remember me to *Yezid*, and tell him this from me, “ Look
“ upon the *Arabians* as your Root and Founda-
“ tion, and whenever they send you any Am-

⁸ *Ebno'l Athir.* ⁹ MS. Hunt. Num. 495.

“bassadors treat them with Courtesy and Re-
 “spect. Take care of the *Syrians*, for they are
 “entirely in your Interest, and you may depend
 “upon them whenever you are insulted by
 “your Enemies: But if ever you have Occa-
 “sion to make Use of them out of their own
 “Country, as soon as they have answered your
 “Purpose send them home again; for they alter
 “for the worse with being abroad. Oblige the
 “*Irakians*, though they were to ask you for a
 “new Deputy every Day; you had better in such
 “a Case part with the dearest Friend you have
 “in the World, than have a Hundred Thou-
 “sand Swords drawn upon you. I am not in fear
 “for you of any of the *Coreish* but three, *Ho-*
 “*sein*, *Ben Amer*, and *Abdollah* the Son of *Zo-*
 “*beir*. (Here he repeated the Characters given
 “of them before) If *Abdollah* appears against
 “you oppose him; if he offers you Peace ac-
 “cept it, and spare the Blood of your People
 “as much as lies in your Power.”

Moawiyah I.
 An. Heg. 60.
 cepit Oct. 12.
 A. C. 679.

³ He reigned nineteen Years, three Months
 and seven and twenty Days, from the Time that
 the Government came entirely into his Hands
 upon *Hasan's* Resignation. There are different
 Reports concerning his Age; some say seventy
 Years, and others seventy five. When he was
 dead, *Dehàc* the Son of *Kais* went into the

³ *Abulpheda.*

Moawiyah I. Mosque, and stepped up into the Pulpit with *Moawiyah's* Winding-Sheet in his Hand; where having made an Encomium upon him, and satisfied the People that he was dead, and that that was his Winding-Sheet, he said the Burying Prayers over him. *Yezid* was then absent at a Town called *Hawarin*, belonging to the Territory of *Hems*. They wrote to him and desired his Presence; but he did not come till after his Father was buried, and then went and prayed at the Tomb.

Moawiyah embraced the *Mahometan* Religion at the same time with his Father, which was in the *Year of the Victory*. *Mahomet* made him his Secretary, and *Omar* gave him the Lieutenancy of *Syria* four Years of his Reign. *Othman* continued him in that Post during the whole Space of his Reign, which was about twelve Years. Four Years more he kept *Syria* in his own Hands by Force, whilst he held up Arms against *Ali*. So that taking all together he had Possession of *Syria*, either as Governour or *Chaliph*, near forty years.

He was of a merciful Disposition, Courageous, of a quick Capacity, thoroughly skilled in the Administration of Government. ³ His good

³ The Reader will easily perceive that this manner of Expression is not *English* but *Arabick*, as he may observe in abundance of Passages throughout the whole Book.

Nature prevailed over his Anger, and the Sweetness of his Temper exceeded its Fierceness. He was easy of Access, and very obliging in his Behaviour.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 60.
capit Oñ. 12.
A. C. 679.

³ There is a Tradition that goes under the Name of one *Hasan a Basorian*, of great Authority among the Traditionists. He said, that there were four Things to be objected against *Moawiyah*, every one of which merited his Destruction. 1. That he took the *Chaliphate* upon him by dint of Sword, without having first consulted the People, amongst whom, besides the Companions of the Apostle, there were a great many Persons of Merit and Distinction. 2. His leaving the *Chaliphate* by way of Inheritance to his Son *Yezid*, a Man of a scandalous Character, a Drunkard, a lover of Musick, and one that wore Silk. 3. His scandalous manner of proceeding in the Business of *Ziyad*, when he owned him for his Brother, notwithstanding the Determination of *Mahomet* with relation to such Matters. 4. His Cruelty to *Hejer* and his Companions. *Shaphei* reports, that he put *Abi Rebiyah* in Chains, because there were four of the *Companions* whose Testimony he rejected, viz. *Moawiyah*, *Amrou*, *Almogéirah* and *Ziyad*.

Once there came before him a young Man, and repeated a Copy of Verses to him, expressing

³ MS. Hunt, Num. 495.

Moawiyah I. his present Condition. *Moawiyah* was very well
 An. Heg. 60. pleased with the Verses. The *Arabians* delight
 cepit O. A. 12. in Charity, and to address the severest Tyrant
 A. C. 679. of them all after that manner with something
 that is fanciful and pungent, is the securest Way
 in the World either for a Man to gain his Point,
 or if Necessity requires it, to save his Neck.
 The young Man's Case was, he had married a
 fair *Arabian* Lass purely for Love, and out of
 meer Fondness had spent all his Substance,
 which was very considerable upon her. She was
 charmingly beautiful; and the Governour of
Cusab cast his wanton Eyes upon her, and ra-
 vished her from her Husband's Bosom by Force.
 He, to whom the Loss of his Substance, though
 it had been all the World, was nothing in re-
 spect of her; pierced to the very Heart, and
 ready to die with Sorrow and Vexation, made
 his Application to *Moawiyah*. *Moawiyah* resolv-
 ed to do him Justice, and sent an Express to the
 Governour to resign the Woman. The Gover-
 nour, who had not the most absurd Taste in the
 World, told the Express, That if the *Chaliph*
 would be pleased to give him Leave to enjoy
 her one Twelve-Month, he would be content-
 ed to have his Head struck off at the end of it.
 But the *Chaliph* rigidly insisted upon her being
 delivered up, and had her brought before him.
 He was very much surprized at her Beauty, but
 much

much more at the Politeness and Elegancy of her Expression. He that had received so many Embassies, and always conversed with the Greatest Men of his Country, never in his Life heard such a Torrent of Eloquence as flowed from the Mouth of that charming *Arabian*. The *Chaliph* asked her jocosely, Whether she would have him, or the Governour, or her Husband. She answered him in Verse, with the Modesty that became her Sex, and I forbear to translate her Answer, because I despair of coming up to the Spirit of it; but the Sense is, That though what a Person in his eminent Station was able to do for her, was beyond her Merit or Expectation, yet it could not be put into the Balance against everlasting Damnation. She begged of him, if he designed her any Favour, to restore her to her own dear Husband; which he very generously performed, and presented her with a very rich Equipage and plenty of Gold, to repair the shattered Circumstances of her Husband, who had spent a good Fortune upon her.

He was always very munificent. He made a Present to *Ayesha* of a Bracelet worth an Hundred Thousand Pieces of Gold, which she accepted. He presented *Hasan* with three Hundred Thousand Pieces, and *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir* with one Hundred Thousand. He used to bid those that came to see him, take any

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 60.
capit Oet. 12.
A. C. 679.

Moawiyah I. thing they had a mind to. He presented *Hosein*
 An. Heg. 60. with a Hundred Thousand Pieces, who divided
capit Oct. 12. them among ten of his Acquaintance. An Hun-
A. C. 679. dred Thousand more he gave to *Abdollah*, the
 Son of *Jaafar*, who gave them to his Wife at
 her Request. He presented *Merwân*, the Son
 of *Hakem*, afterwards *Chaliph*, with an Hundred
 Thousand Pieces, who divided half of them a-
 mongst his Friends. At another time he pre-
 sented *Hasan* with four Millions.

⁴ It happened that *Sapor*, who had seized
Armenia by Force of Arms, sent an Ambassa-
 dor named *Sergius*, to *Moawiyah*, desiring his
 Assistance against the *Grecian* Emperor; who
 at the same Time sent one *Andrew* an Eunuch,
 a great Favourite. *Moawiyah* told them, That
 they were both equally Enemies, and that he
 would assist that Side that offered him most.
 There was some Altercation between the two
 Ambassadors; *Sergius* reproached the Eunuch
 with the Loss of his Virility; the other in Re-
 turn called him Sodomite. But after their Au-
 dience was over, *Andrew* the Eunuch was re-
 venged upon his Antagonist; for he gave Di-
 rections to the Officers upon the Frontiers, who
 seized him in his Return, castrated him, and dis-
 missed him with his Testicles about his Neck.

⁴ *Abulpheragius*.

⁴ *Moawiyah* was the first *Chaliph* that introduced the *Mekşourah* into the Mosque ; that is a Place raised above, and separate from the rest ; where the *Chaliph*, who was as well chief Pontiff in Religious, as Sovereign in Civil Affairs, began and chanted the Prayers, which are, as one may say, the publick Office of the Muslemans ; and it was in the same Place that he made the *Cotbah* to the People, which is a sort of Homily or Preachment ; ⁵ and used, before his Time, always to follow the Prayers ; but he began with it first, for fear he should forget what he had prepared to say.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 60.
cepit Oct. 12.
A. C. 679.

⁶ He was the first *Chaliph* that obliged the People to swear Allegiance to his Son : The first that laid Post Horses upon the Roads : the first that made a *Mekşourah* ; and the first that spoke to the People sitting.

⁷ An *Arabian* Robber being once condemned to have his Hand cut off, *Moawiyah* pardoned him for the sake of four very ingenious Verses that he made and repeated to him in the Field. They remark, that this was the first Sentence pronounced among the Muslemans that was not put in Execution ; the *Chaliphs* not having as yet, till *Moawiyah*, taken the Liberty of shewing Favour to those whom the ordinary Judges had condemned.

⁴ *Abulpheda*. *D'Herbelot*. ⁵ *Abulpheragius*. ⁶ *Abulpheda*.
⁷ *D'Herbelot* from *Rabialakyar*.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 60.
œpit O. 12.
A. C. 679.

³ *Abulpheda* records this following Account of him, as a remarkable Instance of his Patience and Clemency. *Arwab* the Daughter of *Hareth*, the Son of *Abdolmutaleb* the Son of *Hassem*, came to make him a Visit: She was his Aunt, a very old Woman, and of *Ali's* Branch of the Family: As soon as *Moawiyah* had saluted her, she began to reproach him, O Nephew, said she, you have been very ungrateful, and injurious to your Cousin, who was a Companion (of the Apostle;) and you called your self by a Name that was none of your own; and took Possession of what you had no Right to. And our Family exceeded all Men in Sufferings for this Religion, till God took his Prophet to reward his Labours, and to exalt his Station: And then you insulted us, and we were amongst you like the Children of Israel in the Family of Pharaoh; Though *Ali*, after the Prophet, was as *Aaron* was to *Moses*. *Amrou*, who was then present, had no Patience, but took her up and said, Hold your Tongue old Woman, and do not talk thus like one out of your Wits. What, says she, do you prate you Son of a Whore, when your Mother was the most notorious and cheapest Strumpet in all *Meccah*; and when she was examined concerning five of the Coreish, she confessed that she had lain with them all; and that you must belong to him,

³ *Abulpheda*.

whom

whom you resembled most; you proving most like old Aâfi, he was forced to father you. Moawiyah only said to her, God forgive what is past, what would you have? She answered, Two Thousand Pieces to buy an Estate for the Poor of our Family; and two Thousand more to marry our poor Relations; and two Thousand more for my self to secure me in Time of Extremity: Which was all, by Moawiyah's Command, paid down to her immediately.

Moawiyah I.
An. Heg. 60.
œpit Oct. 12.
A. C. 679.

This *Chaliph* was buried in *Damascus*, where he had established the Seat of the *Chaliphate*: And that City always preserved that Prerogative so long as the *Ommiades*, or Descendants of Moawiyah reigned there; till the Time of the *Abbasides*, who transferred it to *Anbar*, *Hafchemyah* and *Bagdad*. The Inscription of his Seal was, *Every Work bath its Reward*, or as others say, *There is no Strength but in God*.

*The Second Chaliph of the House of
Ommiyah, (being the Seventh from
MAHOMET.)*

Y E Z I D,

The Son of Moawiyah.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
æpit Oct. 12.
A. C. 679.

YEZID, the Son of *Moawiyah*, was inaugurated *Chaliph* on the New Moon of the Month *Rejeb*, of the sixtieth Year of the *Hegirah*, which falls in with the Seventh Day of *April*, in the Year of our Lord Six Hundred and Eighty. He was born in the twenty sixth Year of the *Hegirah*, according to which Account he was thirty four (Lunar) Years old when he was saluted Emperor. He was forthwith acknowledged lawful *Chaliph* in *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Ægypt* and *Persia*, and all the other *Mahometan* Countries, except the Cities of *Meccah* and *Medinah*, and some others of *Chaldea*, that refused to submit themselves to him: And among the Great Ones there were

¹ MS. Hunt. Num. 495. *Abulpheda*.

none but *Hosein*, and *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, that disputed the *Chaliphate* with them to their Death.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
capit Off. 12.
A. C. 679.

He kept all his Father's Lieutenants and Officers in their Places, without so much as removing one of them. The Governour of *Medinah* was *Waled* the Son of *Otbah*; of *Cusab*, *Nooman* the Son of *Báshir*; of *Basorah*, *Obeidollah* the Son of *Ziyàd*; of *Meccah*, *Abdollah Amrou*. As soon as he came to the Government, he had nothing so much at Heart, as the bringing in those that had opposed his being nominated his Father's Heir and Successor. Concerning this Affair, he wrote a Letter to *Waled* his Governor in *Medinah*, as follows; *In the Name of the most Merciful God. From Yezid Emperor of the Faithful to Waled the Son of Otbah. Moawiyah was one of the Servants of God, who honoured him, and made him Chaliph, and extended his Dominions and established him. He lived his appointed Time, and God took him to his Mercy. He lived beloved, and he died pure and innocent. Farewell. Hold Hosein and Abdollah the Son of Amer, and Abdollah the Son of Zobéir close to the Inauguration without any Remission or Relaxation. Waled* upon the Receipt of this Letter, sent for *Merwan* the Son of *Hakem*, and consulted him concerning the Contents of it. *Merwan* was of Opinion, that he should send for them and tender

YEZID I. tender them the Oath, before they were apprised of the *Chaliph's* Death; and upon their Refusal should strike their Heads off. Either this was not so closely concerted but they received some private Intelligence; or else they suspected it themselves: Which way soever it was, when *Waled's* Messenger came to them, who found them at the Mosque, they sent him back with this Answer, That they were coming. After a short Deliberation, *Hossein* went to the Governour's House, attended with a sufficient Number of his Friends and Domesticks, whom he placed about the Door, with Orders to come in if they should hear any Disturbance. The Governour having acquainted him with *Moawiyah's* Decease, invited him to own his Allegiance to *Yezid*. He answered, That Men of his Distinction did not use to do Things of that Nature in private; neither did he expect that he would ever have desired it of him; that he thought it better to stay till all the People were met together, according to the Custom upon such Occasions, and do it unanimously. *Waled* consented: But *Merwan*, who could easily see through this Excuse, (as the Governour did too) said to the Governour, If he does not do it now before he goes away, there will be a great deal of Blood shed between you and him; wherefore hold him close, and do not let him

go out till he hath given his Allegiance, otherwise strike his Head off. *Hosein* leaped out, and having first reproached *Merwân* for his Advice, went to his own House. *Merwân* swore to the Governour, that he was never like to see *Hosein* any more. The Governor told him, he did not trouble himself about it; adding, that he had every Thing he desired in this World, and that he did not believe that that Man's Balance would be light in the next that should be guilty of the Murder of *Hosein*. It is an Article of the *Mahometan* Faith, that at the last Day there shall be a Balance supported by the Divine Power, that shall extend to the utmost Limits of Heaven and Earth, in which the most minute Actions of mortal Men shall be weighed; and he whose evil Deeds outweigh his good ones, shall be damned; on the contrary, he whose good Deeds overbalance his evil ones, shall be saved. For this Reason *Waled* said, That his Balance would not be light, (meaning that wherein his evil Deeds were put) that should kill *Hosein*. Then *Waled* sent for *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir*, who put him off for the Space of four and twenty Hours; and taking along with him all his Family, and his Brother *Jaafar*, departed for *Meccab*, *Waled* sent a Party of Horse to pursue him, but to no Purpose. Whilst *Waled* was thus taken up with *Abdollah*, he had little Time.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
capit Oñ. 12.
A. C. 679.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
capit Oct. 12.
A. C. 679.

to take Notice of *Hosein*, who whenever he sent for him, put him off with an Excuse, and in the mean time made all the secret Preparation he could to follow *Abdollah*. He left none of all his Family behind him except his Brother *Mabomet Hanifiyah*, who before they parted, expressing the most tender Affection and Concern for him that can be imagined, advised him by no Means to venture himself in any of the Provinces, but to lye close either in the Desarts or the Mountains, till his Friends were gathered together in a considerable Body, and then he might trust himself with them. But if he was resolved to go into any Town, he should prefer *Meccah*; where if he met with the least Appearance of any Thing that disgusted him, he should immediately withdraw and retire to the Mountains: *Hosein* having thanked him heartily for his sincere Advice, made the best of his Way to *Meccah*, where he met with *Abdollah*.

Yezid, not well pleased with *Waled's* Remission, removed him from the Government of *Medinah*, and gave it to *Amrou* the Son of *Saëd*, who was Governour of *Meccah*. He was a very proud Man. He gave *Amer* the Son of *Zobéir* a Commission to March against his Brother *Abdollah*, whom he mortally hated. *Abdollah* engaged him in the Field, routed him, and put him in Prison, where he kept him till he died.

Now

Now though *Abdollah* seemed to have Interest sufficient to carry his Point, and had beat down all Opposition before him, and the *Medinians* had openly declared for him, so that his Fame was spread round about the Country : Yet *Hosein's* Glory outshined him, so that he could not tell how to propose any thing that he designed to the People, so long as he was there : Who both upon the account of his near Relation to *Mahomet*, and his own personal Qualifications, was revered above all Men alive. *Moawiyah* so long as he lived, treated him with the utmost Respect : And when *Hasan* had resigned to *Moawiyah*, both he and his Brother *Hosein* used to visit him frequently, and he always received them courteously, and never failed to dismiss them with noble Presents. After *Hasan's* Death, *Hosein* used to send to him often, and paid him a Visit once every Year, and went with his Son *Yezid* in his Expedition against *Constantinople*. *Hosein* was the Hopes of all the *Irakians* ; never were People more overjoyed than they were at the Death of *Moawiyah*, whom they had all along detested as a Tyrant and Usurper. They thought that now there was a Period put to all their Slavery, and they should be under the gentle Government, of a Man that was sprung of an almost divine Race. The *Cu-rians* were so impatient, that they sent Message after

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
cepit Oct. 12.
A. C. 679.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
cœpit Oet. 12.
A. C. 679.

after Message to him, assuring him that if he would but once make his Appearance amongst them, he should not only be secure as to his own Person, but in consideration of the Esteem which they had for his Father *Ali*, and his Family, they would render him their Homages, and acknowledge him for the only lawful and true *Chaliph*. They assured him that there was no manner of difficulty in the Matter; all the Country being entirely devoted to serve him with their Lives and Fortunes. The Messengers they had sent one after another, came to him all together, pressing him with the utmost Vehemency, to what he himself had no Aversion to: Only he thought it a part of a prudent Man to use a little Caution and Circumspection, in an Affair of so great Consequence, and attended with so much hazard. Wherefore he first sends his Cousin *Muslim* into *Irak*, to feel the Pulse of the People, and see whether or no they were so unanimously in his Interest as had been represented. Ordering him, that if he found it so, he should head a Body of them, and beat down all Opposition if there should be any: Besides he gave him a Letter to the *Cusans* to that purpose. *Muslim* left *Meccah*, and passed through *Medinah*, from whence he took along with him a couple of Guides, who led him into a vast Desert, where there was no Road: One of them

perished with Thirst, and the other soon after died of the Cholick. This unprosperous Beginning seemed ominous to *Muslim*, and discouraged him to that degree, that, having found a Place where there was Water, he would not stir a step further in his Journey, till he had dispatched a Messenger to *Hosein* for further Instructions. *Hosein* ordered him to go on to *Cusab* by all means, and act pursuant to those Directions he had received before. When he came to *Cusab*, he communicated his Business privately to such as he could trust, and the Matter was whispered about so dexterously, that they reckoned themselves secure of Eighteen Thousand, before *Yezid's* Deputy *Nóman* had heard one word of it. *Muslim*, sufficiently satisfied with this Success, did not defer acquainting *Hosein* with it: He wrote to him, and told him, that every thing was made plain and easie for him now; and that nothing was wanting but his Presence. Upon this notice, he set out upon his Journey from *Meccab* to *Cusab*.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
cæpit O^r. 12.
A. C. 679.

Nóman at last received Information of the increasing Interest of *Hosein*, and the forwardness of his Party; he was both surprised and concerned; and made a Speech to the People, wherein he exhorted them to a peaceful Behaviour, and to avoid all manner of Strife and Contention: Assuring them that for his own part he

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
œpit Oct. 12.
A. C. 679.

would not be the Aggressor, nor meddle with any Person, unless he was first insulted himself; nor would he take up any Man upon Suspicion; But he swore by that God, besides whom is no other, that if they revolted from their *Imàm* [*Yezid*] and withdrew their Allegiance, he would fight as long as he could hold his Sword in his Hand. One that stood by, told him that this was a Matter that required stirring, but that he talked like one of the weak Ones. He answered that *He had rather be one of the weak ones in obedience to God, than one of the strong ones in rebelling against him.* And with those words he came down. News of this was carried to *Yezid*, who sent immediately, and removed *Nómàn* from the Lieutenancy of *Cufah*, and gave it to *Obeidollah* the Son of *Ziyàd*, together with that of *Basorab*, which he had before. This he did at the instance of *Sarchun*, the Son of *Moarwiyah*: For before that time he was not affected well towards *Obeidollah*, probably because his Father *Ziyàd* was against his being declared Heir to *Moarwiyah*.

Upon this *Obeidollah* went from *Basorab* to *Cufah*. He rode into the Town in the Evening, with a black Turbant on, (which was *Hosein's* Dress) and he could not pass along and salute the Crowd, but he was resaluted by the Title of the Son of the Apostle; they imagining that

it.

it had been *Hosein* of whose coming they were in hourly Expectation. But to their no small Grief and Mortification, they were soon undeceived, when some of *Obeidollab's* Retinue said to them; Stand off, it is the *Emir Obeidollab*. He went directly with his Retinue to the Castle (they were but seventeen Horse in all) and began to think of proper Means for the extinguishing this Sedition. For this purpose, he gives three Thousand Pieces for a Show to one of his Domesticks, whose Business it was to pretend, that he came out of *Syria* on purpose to this Inauguration of *Hosein*. *Muslim* had a House in Town, where he polled great Numbers every Day. *Obeidollab's* Man managed his Business so well, that he easily gained Credit to his Story, and was introduced to *Muslim* who took down his Vote for *Hosein*. And to colour the Matter, he gave some of his Money towards the buying Arms, to one that *Muslim* had singled out for that Office, whose Business it was to receive all the Money that was contributed by the Party for that purpose. He continued among them the space of a few Days, till he had sufficiently informed himself of all their Circumstances, and then made his Report to *Obeidollab*. *Muslim* had changed his Quarters, which at first he had taken up at *Hani's* House, and removed to *Sharik's*, who was one of the grand *Omeras*; *Sharik*

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
cœpit O. 12.
A. C. 679.

YEZID I. *rik* was then Sick, and they being informed
 An. Heg. 60. that *Obeidollah* designed him a Visit, contrived
cæpit Oct. 12. to place *Muslim* in a Corner to kill him. The
A. C. 679. Signal agreed upon, was when the sick Man
 should call for Water. Afterwards *Obeidollah*
 came attended by *Hani* and one Servant. They
 sat down (except the Servant) and talked with
Sbarik a while, but *Muslim* had not Courage
 enough to stir. ¹ The Girl that was bringing
 the Water, spying *Muslim* standing there was
 ashamed, and went back with it three times.
 At last he called out loud, Bring me some Wa-
 ter, though it kills me. This made *Obeidollah's*
 Man suspect, that there was something more
 than ordinary in the Matter; so he gave a hint
 to his Master, who leaped forth immediately.
 When they were gone, *Hani* and *Sbarik* asked
Muslim, why he did not kill him. He answer-
 ed he had heard a Tradition of the Apostle who
 had said, *The Faith is contrary to Murther: Let*
not a Believer murther a Man unawares. Where-
 fore, he said, he durst not kill him in his House.
 They told him that if he had done it, no body
 would have concerned themselves to revenge his
 Death, and they could have secured him in the
 Possession of the Castle. *Sbarik* died three Days
 after. As for *Hani*, upon *Obeidollah's* command-
 ing the ² Registers to be strictly searched, under

¹ MS. Hunt. Numb. 495. ² See *Esther* vi. 1.

the severest Penalty, he was found standing upon Record, as an old Offender, and one that had opposed *Obeidollah* before. *Obeidollah* remembered him, and sent some of the *Omeras*, who would not let him alone till they brought him along with them to the Castle. When he came there, *Obeidollah* asked him what was become of *Muslim*. He at first pretended to know nothing of him, but being confronted by *Obeidollah's* Servant who had seen *Muslim* at his House, and paid him Money to buy Arms for the Service of *Hosein*, he had nothing else to say for himself, but that *Muslim* intruded himself upon him into his House, and did not come thither by his Invitation. *Obeidollah* commanded him to produce him. He answered, that if he was under his Feet, he would not take them off from him. At this *Obeidollah* gave him such a Blow with his Mace, that he wounded him in the Face, and broke his Nose. *Hani* had like to have seized one of the Swords of the Guards, but was prevented. *Obeidollah* told him he had forfeited his Life, and commanded him to be imprisoned in a Room in the Castle. The People of his Tribe came flocking about the Castle, imagining that he was Murdered; but the *Kádi* sent one to tell them, that he was detained only to be asked some Questions about *Muslim*, and bad them be at quiet, and go peaceably to their

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
cæpit Oet. 12.
A.C. 679.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
cepit Oct. 12.
A. C. 679.

Houses, for though the *Emir* had struck him, it would not affect his Life. *Muslim* having heard this News mounted his Horse, and gave the word ⁷ *Ya Mensfour Ommet* ! Which was the Signal agreed upon among *Hosein's* Party. Four Thousand joined him, and he conducted them towards the Castle under two Colours, the one Red, the other Green. *Obeidollah* was then in the Castle Prison, discoursing concerning *Hani's* Business, and cautioning them against Sedition. The *Omera's* and chief Men sat under him, when the Watch came and surpris'd them all, with the News of *Muslim's* Appearance before the Castle. *Obeidollah* sent several Men of Note and Authority among the People, out of the Castle, who rode backwards and forwards dissuading them from hazarding themselves upon such an account : And bade those that were with him, look out of the Castle, and encourage the Loyalists. A Woman called out to *Muslim*, and told him, he might go about his Business, for the People would find him Work enough. They considering that the Event was dubious, began to desert by degrees, till *Muslim* had no more than Thirty Men left with him, so he retired in the Evening and hid himself. Taking the Opportunity of the Twilight, he departed from *Cusab*, without so much as a Guide left

⁷ O thou that art helped by the People ! meaning *Hosein*.

to shew him the Way, or any one to comfort him, or give him Shelter. Night came on, and he was upon the Road alone in the Dark, not knowing one step of the Way, nor whither he was going. At last he found a House standing alone in the Field, and knocked at the Door: There came to him an old Woman, one that in the Days of her Youth and Beauty had belonged to a great Man, but afterwards had a Son by another, whom she expected out of the Field. *Muslim* asked her for some Water, which when she had given him, and perceived that he made no haste to go away, she told him that it was not convenient for him to stand there at her Door, neither would she allow it. At last he let her understand that it was in her Power to do a thing that she should have no Reason to repent of. She asked him what it was. He told her his Name was *Muslim*, and that the People of the Country had deceived him. She no sooner heard his Name, but she readily let him in, and having conveyed him into the most secret and retired Part of her House, made the best Provision for him she was able. At last her Son came home, and observing his Mother going backwards and forwards very often, would not rest satisfied, till she had acquainted him with the occasion of it, which to satisfy his Importunity she did, having first enjoined him Secrecy.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
œpit Oct. 19.
A. C. 670.

YEZID I.
 An. Hēg. 60.
cœpit O. E. 12.
 A. C. 679.

But he, having heard that *Obeidollah* had promised a Reward to whosoever should discover *Muslim*, went and informed in the Morning : So that before *Muslim* well knew where he was, he found himself surrounded with Threescore and ten, or Fourscore Horse. He betook him to his Sword, and defended himself bravely, for he beat them thrice out of the House. They pelted him with Stones, and put Fire upon the ends of Canes, and flung at him ; then he went out and fought abroad : Till at last overpowered with Numbers, and grievously wounded in a great many Places, particularly both his Lips almost cut to Pieces, he was seized and disarmed, and bound and mounted upon his own Mule. When he perceived that it was quite out of his Power to help himself, he wept. One of the Men that was present told him, that it did not become a Man that came about such a great Undertaking to weep : He answered, that it was not upon his own account, but for the sake of *Hosein* and his Family, who he feared were upon their Journey from *Meccah* to *Cufah*, and as he supposed came out either that very Day, or the Day before. Then turning to *Mohammed*, the Son of *Aláshat*, he begged of him, if it was possible, to send to him in his Name, to intreat him to go back : Which *Mohammed* performed, but the Messenger did not do his part.

When

When *Muslim* came to the Castle Gate, there stood a great many of the *Omera's*, some of which he knew, and others knew him, waiting for Admission to *Obeidollah*. He was very desirous to drink a draught of Water, but one of the Men told him he should have no Drink, till he drank the *Hamim*, that is the scalding Liquor which the *Mahometans* feign shall be the Drink of the Damned in Hell. *Obeidollah* appearing, *Muslim* did not *Salàm* or salute him; which when they wondered at, he said if *Yezid* were there himself, he should not think himself obliged to do it, unless he would give him his Life. *Obeidollah* told him that he had come thither to make a Disturbance, and sow the Seeds of Division amongst People that were all unanimous, and all agreed upon the same thing. *Muslim* resolutely answered, It is not so: But the People of this Province know very well, that your Father *Ziyàd* has killed the best of their Men, and shed their Blood, and exercised over them the Tyranny of a *Cosroes* or a *Cæsar*; and we come to govern with Justice, and appeal to the Determination of the Book. *Obeidollah* called him Rogue, and told him he did not use to appeal to the Determination of the Book, when he was tippling Wine at *Medinah*. For the truth of which Accusation, *Muslim* appealed to God. Having leave given him to make his Will, he

YEZIDI.
An. Heg. 60.
cæpit *Ost.* 12.
A. C. 679.

whif-

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
cæpit Oct. 12.
A. C. 679.

whispered one of his Friends, and left him seven Hundred Pieces ; desiring him to beg his dead Body of *Obeidollah*, and to take care to prevent *Hosein's* advancing any further in his Journey. He was overheard by one that stood by, who told every Word he said to *Obeidollah*. He did not disapprove of any one Article in it, and as for *Hosein* he said, if he would be at quiet no body would meddle with him, but if he was the Aggressor, they would not flinch from him. *Muslim* was then carried to the top of the Castle and Beheaded. The Head was first thrown down to the Bottom, and the Body after it. Then *Hani* was brought forth and Beheaded in the Street. Both the Heads were sent for a Present to *Yezid*, with a Letter specifying their several Circumstances. This was on the Eighth Day of the Month *Dulbagiab* in the Sixtieth Year of the *Hegirah*.

The earnest and repeated Sollicitations of the *Cusians* made *Hosein* resolve to accept their Invitation, and go directly to *Cusab*. They had sent him in a Poll of an Hundred and forty Thousand : Which together with their Letters he bundled up, and carried along with him. The wisest of his Friends looked upon it as a degree of Madness in him, to embark himself in such a desperate Undertaking. At last they said

said, that if he was resolved to go, it was his Destiny that precipitated him. ⁴ *Abdollah* the Son of *Abbas* told him, that there was a Report spread of his intended Journey to *Cusab*, and desired to know what he meant by it. *Hosein* told him, that if it pleased God, he was resolved upon it. The Son of *Abbas* answered, that indeed if the *Cusians* had taken Arms, killed their *Emir* [*Obeidollah*] and taken the whole Country into their own Hands, and then invited him to come and take the Government upon him, there would be something in it, and he should advise him to go: But that so long as they were under the Command of their *Emir*, whose Forces were dispersed throughout all those Territories for the Security of the Country, they had in effect at best only invited him to a War; and that he had no Security that they would not oppose him, and that they who had been the forwardest in appearing in his Interest, might not in the end prove his greatest Enemies. *Hosein* said he would leave the Event to God. After this *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir* came to make him a Visit, and enquire into his Design. Among other Discourse he said, I do not see any Reason why we should leave every thing to the disposal of these Men, when we are the

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
capit Oct. 12.
A. C. 679.

* MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
œpit O. 12.
A. C. 679.

Sons of the *Mahogerins* or Refugees, and have a better Right and Claim to the Government than they. *Hosein* told him that the chief of the Nobility had written to him, and that his Sect (the *Shii*) were all ready to stand up for him to a Man. To which the Son of *Zobéir* answered, that if he had such a Sect to stand up for him, he would not omit the Opportunity. *Hosein* easily saw through his Meaning; for *Abdollah*, who was a Man of a restless aspiring Temper, knew very well that all his own Pretensions would be in vain, so long as *Hosein* was alive, but if any thing should befall him, the way to the *Caliphate* would be made clear for himself; which *Hosein* took notice of as soon as he was gone. *Abdollah* the Son of *Abbàs* was still very uneasie; and resolved to leave no means unattempted to dissuade him from his Undertaking. He came to him again, and represented to him the fickle Temper of the *Irakians*, and intreated him to stay at least till they had got rid of their Enemy the *Emir*, and then either to go to them, or else into that part of *Hejaz*, where there were Places of Strength: That he should keep himself retired, and write circular Letters to all his Friends, till they had formed a Body, and were capable of appearing for him to some Advantage; that then he hoped Things would succeed according to his Desire. *Hosein* told him,

he

he knew that he advised him as a Friend. At least, added the Son of *Abbàs*, if you be resolved to go, do not take your Wives and Children along with you, for, by God, I fear your Case will be like *Othman's*, who was murdered whilst his Wives and Children stood looking on: Besides, you have rejoiced the Heart of *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir*, in leaving him behind you in *Hejaz*: And by that God, besides whom there is no other, if I knew that my taking you by the Hair of the Head, till they came in and parted us, would be a Means to detain you at *Meccah*, I would do it. Then he left him, and meeting with *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir*, he told him, he had no Reason to be sad, and immediately repeated *Ya lekà ming kobéiratin*, &c.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
cœpit Oel. 12.
A. C. 679.

Wherein the *Arabian* Poet elegantly addresses himself to the Lark, and bids her, whilst the the Field and Season favoured her, enjoy herself, and sing, and delight in her young Ones, and whatsoever else would entertain her; but let her assure herself she should not escape the Nets of the Fowler.

² No Advice taking Place with *Hosein*, though *Abdollah* the Son of *Abbàs* had sat up with him all Night to no Purpose, he set out from *Meceab* with a competent Retinue on the eighth Day of the Month *Dulhagiab*, being the very same Day

² MS. *Laud*. Num. 161. A.

YEZID I. on which his Cousin *Muslim* was killed at *Cusab*,
 An. Heg. 60. (though some say the Day before) concerning
cæpit Oct. 12. whom he had received no other Intelligence
A. C. 679. than what he had sent him, that all Things
 went well. The *Emir Obeidollah* was very well
 apprised of *Hosein's* Approach; who when he
 came as far as *Afsberàph* met with a Body of a
 Thousand Horse, under the Command of *Harro*
 the Son of *Yezid*, of the Tribe of *Temimah*, a
 Man no way disaffected to *Hosein's* Interest. *Hosein's*
Hosein's Men had been for Water at the River, and
 drawn a great deal for the Horses, which he
 did not make use of for himself alone, but or-
 dered them to water their Horses of his Ene-
 mies. At Noon he commanded the People to
 be called together, according to the Custom of
 the *Mahometans*, and came out to them with
 nothing but his Vest, his Girdle and his Shoes,
 and alledged the Invitation of the *Cusians* as the
 Reason of his undertaking that Expedition.
 Then he asked *Harro*, if he would pray amongst
 his Men; who answered, that after him he
 would. They parted that Night and went eve-
 ry Man to his Tent, and the next Day *Hosein*
 made a Speech to them, wherein he asserted his
 Title, and exhorted them to submit to him,
 and oppose all that stood against him, who pre-
 tended to usurp Authority over the People wrong-
 fully. *Harro* told him, That he did not know
 who

who had writ to him, nor what it was; and on *Hosein's* producing the Letter, *Harro* said, after he had read a little of it, We are none of those that had any Hand in writing of it, and we are commanded as soon as we meet you to bring you directly to *Cufah* into the Presence of *Obeidollah* the Son of *Ziyad*. *Hosein* told him, That he would sooner die than submit to that, and gave the Word of Command to his Men to ride; but *Harro* wheeled about and intercepted them; which provoked *Hosein* to say, ⁶ May your Mother be childless of you! (a common curse amongst the *Arabians*.) What do you mean? *Harro* answered If any Man but your self had said so much to me, I would have had Satisfaction, but I have no room to mention your Mother without the greatest Respect. Then speaking to his Men they retreated, and he told *Hosein*, That he had no Commission to fight with him, but was commanded not to part with him till he had conducted him to *Cufah*. But he bad him chuse any Road that did not go directly to *Cufah*, or back again to *Medinah*; and do you, says he, write to *Yezid* or *Obeidollah*, and I will write to *Obeidollah*, perhaps it may please God I may meet with something that may bring me off, without my being exposed to any Extremity upon your Account:

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
capit Oet. 12.
A. C. 679.

⁶ Arab. *Thacolátka Ommoka*.

YEZID I. *Hosein* upon this turned a little out of the Way
 An.Heg. 60. that leads to *Adib* and *Kadisia*, and *Harro* told
 capit Nov. 12. him, that it was his Opinion, that if he would
 A. C. 679. be the Aggressor and first set upon the *Cusians*,
 he might gain his Point; but if he suffered him-
 self to be attacked he would perish. *Hosein* ask-
 ed him, if he thought to terrify him with Death.
 When they came to *Adib* they met with four
 Horsemen, who turned out of the Way to come
 up to *Hosein*. *Alharro* would have rode between
 them and *Hosein*, but he would not permit it.
Thirmah was their Guide, whom as soon as they
 came up *Hosein* asked what News; *Thirmah*
 answered, All the Nobility are against you to a
 Man; as for the rest their Hearts are with you,
 but to morrow their Swords will be drawn a-
 gainst you. *Hosein* asked him if he could tell
 any Tidings of his Messenger *Kais* (one that he
 had sent before him to prepare the Way) *Thir-*
mah said, As for your Messenger *Kais* he was
 brought before *Obeidollah*, who commanded
 him to curse you and your Father *Ali*; instead
 of which he stood up and prayed for you and
 your Father, and cursed *Obeidollah* and his Fa-
 ther *Ziyad*, and persuaded the People to come
 into your Assistance, and gave them Notice of
 your coming. For which *Obeidollah* command-
 ed him to be thrown down headlong from the
 Top of the Castle. At this News *Hosein* wept,
 and

and repeated this Verse of the *Alcoran*, *There are some of them who are already dead, and some of them that stay in Expectation and have not changed.* He then added, *O God! let their Mansions be in Paradise, and gather us and them together, in the fixed resting Place of thy Mercy, and the delights of thy Reward.* Then says, *Thirmah* to him, “ I do not think these People that are along with you a sufficient Match for those that are against you. How is it possible, when all the Plains of *Cusab* are full of Horse and Foot ready to meet you? I beg of you, for God’s sake if it be possible, do not go a span’s breadth nearer to them; but if you please, I will conduct you to our impregnable Mountain *Aja*, in which God hath secured us from the Kings of *Gasan* and *Hamyar*, and from ³ *Nòdman* the Son of *Almundir*, and from both the Black and the Red. And if any Calamity befalls us, you may retire thither, and then send to the Tribe of *Tay*, and stay among us as long as you please; for I believe there will be no less than Ten Thousand of that Tribe with their Swords ready at your Service, and by God, no body shall ever get at us. *Hosein* said, God reward thee; but still persisted in

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 60.
capit Oet. 12.
A. C. 679.

³ Concerning him see *Socrates Hist. Ecclesiast. Lib. VII. Cap. 18.*

YEZID I. his Resolution of going forwards, and *Thirmah*
 An. Heg. 61. "took his Leave."
capit Sept. 30.
A.C. 680.

4 When Night came on, he ordered his Men to provide as much Water as they should have Occasion for, and continued his March in the Night. As he went on he nodded a little, and waking on a sudden, said, *We belong to God, and to him we return.* I saw a Horseman, who said, *Men travel by Night, and the Destinies travel by Night towards them.* This I know to be a Message of our Deaths. In the Morning after the Prayers were over he mended his Pace, and taking Left Hand Road came to *Nineve*, (not the Ancient, but another Town of the same Name) and as he rode, with his Bow upon his Shoulders, there came up a Person who saluted *Albárro*, but took no Notice of him. He delivered a Letter to *Albárro*, containing Orders from *Obeidollah*, to lead *Hosein* and his Men into a Place where there was neither Town nor Fortification, till his Messengers and Forces should come up. This was on *Friday* the second Day of the Month *Moharram*, in the sixty first Year of the *Hegirah*, that is on the first Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord Six Hundred and Eighty.

The Day after *Amer* the Son of *Saëd* came up with four Thousand Men, which *Obeidollah*

4 MS. Laud. Num. 161. A.

had ordered to *Deilam*. They had pitched their Tents without the Walls of *Cufab*, and when they heard of *Hofein's* coming, *Obeidollab* commanded *Amer* to defer his intended March to *Deilam*, and go against *Hofein*. *Amer* begged his Pardon, and when *Obeidollab* threatned him upon his Refusal, he desired Time to confider of it : Every one that he advifed withal diffwad-
ed him from it ; infomuch that his Nephew faid to him, Beware that you do not go againft *Hofein*, and rebel againft your Lord, and cut off Mercy from you ; By God, you had better be deprived of the Dominion of the whole World, than meet your Lord with the Blood of *Hofein* upon you. He feemed to acquiefce and be over-ruled, but upon *Obeidollab's* renewing his Threats, he marched againft him, and met him in the Place above-mentioned, and fent to enquire of him what brought him thither. *Hofein* answered, that the *Cufians* had wrote to him, but fince they had rejected him he was willing to return to *Meccab*. *Amer* was glad to hear it, and faid, he hoped in God he fhould be excufed from fighting againft him. Then *Amer* wrote concerning it to *Obeidollab*, who fent him this Answer, “ Get between him and the Water, as
“ he did by *Othman* the innocent and righteous,
“ the injured Emperor of the Faithful, and pro-
“ pofe to him and his Companions to acknow-
“ ledge their Submiffion to the Government of

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
æpit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680.

YEZID I. " the Emperor of the Faithful, *Yezid*; when
 An. Heg. 61. " they have done that we shall consider of fur-
cœpit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680. " ther Measures." From that Time *Amer's*
 Men began to hinder *Hosein's* from getting any
 Water, The Name of the Place where they
 intercepted him was called *Kerbela*. As soon as
Hosein heard it, he said, *Kerb* and *bala*, that is,
Trouble and *Affliction*. At last *Hosein* proposed a
 Conference with *Amer* between the two Armies;
 they came each of them attended by twenty
 Horse, who kept their due Distance whilst they
 discoursed. The Contents of their Conference
 were, (according to *Abulpeda* and some others)
 that *Hosein* proposed that he might be admitted
 to one of these three Conditions; Either that
 he might go to *Yezid*, or else have Leave to re-
 turn back to *Arabia*, or else be placed in some
 Garrison where he might fight against the *Turks*.
Amer wrote Word of this to *Obeidollah*, who
 seemed at first to look upon it as a reasonable
 Proposal; till *Shamer* stood up and swore, that
 he ought to be admitted to no Terms till he had
 surrendered himself, adding, that he had been
 informed of a long Conference between him and
Amer. This changed *Obeidollah's* Mind quite:
 There is a Tradition from one that attended
Hosein all the Way from *Meccah*, and overheard
 this Conference, which says, that *Hosein* did not
 ask of him either to be sent to *Yezid*, or to be
 put,

put into any of the Garrisons, but only either that he might have Leave to return to the Place from whence he came or else have his Liberty to go where he would about the Country, till he should see which way the Inclinations of the People would turn.

YÉZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
capit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680.

Obeidollah, who was resolved not to venture *Hosein* too near *Cufab* for fear of an Insurrection, sent *Shamer* to *Amer* with Orders, that if *Hosein* and his Men would surrender themselves, they should be received; if not, that he should first propose to *Amer* to fall upon them and kill them, and trample them under their Horse's Feet; and upon his Refusal to strike his Head off, and command the Forces himself. *Obeidollah* gave a Letter of Protection and Security to four of *Ali's* Sons, *Abbàs* (whom he had by *Obeidollah's* Aunt) *Abdollah*, *Jaafar* and *Othman*, which they refused to accept, saying, That the Security of God was better than that of the Son of ⁷ *Somyah*. *Obeidollah* had sent a chiding Letter to *Amer* because of his Remissness, which made him undertake to fight against *Hosein* himself when *Shamer* proposed it to him, without knowing that his Refusal was to cost him his Head. *Amer* drew up his Forces in the Even-

⁷ Though *Obeidollah* was not the Son of *Somyah*, but her Grandson; and it is frequently so used in the Old Testament.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
capit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680.

ing, on the ninth of the Month *Mobarram*, and came up to *Hasan's* Tent, who was sitting in his Door just after Evening Prayer. He and his Brother *Abbàs* desired of them to give him Time till the next Morning, and he would answer them to any thing they desired of him. This was granted, and one of *Amer's* Men said that if a *Deilamite* (a Nation which they mortally hated) had asked such a small Request, it ought not to have been refused. At their first advancing he was leaning upon his Sword and nodding. His Sister came and waked him, and as he lifted up his Head, he said, I saw the Prophet in my Dream, who said Thou shalt rest with us. Then she struck her Face, and said, Woe be to us; he answered, Sister you have no reason to complain; God have Mercy upon you, hold your peace. In the Night she came sighing to him again, and said, *Alas* for the Desolation of my Family! I wish I had died Yesterday, rather than have lived till to Day; my Mother *Phatemah* is dead, and my Father *Ali*, and my Brother *Hasan*! *Alas* for the Destruction that is past, and the Dregs of it that remain behind. *Hosein* looked upon her and said, Sister, do not let the Devil take away your Temper. Then beating her Face, and tearing open her Bosom, she fell down in a Swoon. *Hosein* having recovered her with a little cold Water said, "Sister put your
"Trust

“ Trust in God, and depend upon the Comfort
 “ that comes from him; and know that the
 “ People of the Earth shall die, and the People
 “ of the Heaven shall not remain; and every
 “ thing shall perish, but the presence of God
 “ who created all Things by his Power, and
 “ shall make them return, and they shall return
 “ to him alone. My Father was better than I,
 “ and my Mother was better than I, and my
 “ Brother was better than I; and I, and they,
 “ and every *Musleman* has an Example in the
 “ Apostle of God.” Then charging her not to
 use any such Behaviour after his Death, he took
 her by the Hand, and led her into her Tent.
 He told his Friends, that these Men wanted no
 body but him, and desired them to shift for
 themselves, and get away if possible to their re-
 spective Habitations; but *Alabbas* told him,
 they would not, and said, God forbid we should
 ever see the time wherein we should survive you.
 Then he commanded his Men to cord the Tents
 close together, and put the Ropes through one
 another, that the Enemy might not get between
 them. They made a Lane of their Tents, and
Hosein in the Night ordered a Trench to be dig-
 ged at one End of it, into which they threw a
 good quantity of Wood and Cane, which they
 set on Fire, to prevent their being surrounded;
 so that they could be attacked only in the Front.

YEZID I.
 An. Heg. 61.
 capit Sept. 30.
 A. C. 680.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
æpiti Sept. 30.
A. C. 680.

They spent all that Night in hearty Prayer and Supplication, whilst all the while the Horse of the Enemies Guard were riding round about them. The next Morning both sides prepared themselves for Battel; and *Hosein* put his small Forces, which amounted to no more than Two and thirty Horse, and Forty Foot, into good Order. *Amer* having drawn up his Men, and delivered the Flag to one of his Servants, came very near. In the mean time *Hosein* went into a Tent, and having first washed and anointed, he perfumed himself with the larger sort of Musk: Several of the great Men did the like: One of them asking what was the meaning of it, another answered, Alas! there is nothing between us and the black-eyed Girls, but only that these People come down upon us, and kill us. Then *Hosein* mounted his Horse, and took the *Alcoran* and laid it before him, and coming up to the People invited them to the Performance of their Duty; adding, *O God thou art my Confidence in every Trouble, and my Hope in all Adversity!* He set his Son *Ali* on Horse-back, the eldest of that Name, for there were two of them, but he was very sick. Then he cried out, hearken to the Advice that I am going to give you; at which they all gave Attention with profound Silence. Then having first praised God, he said, “ O Men! if you will hearken to me

“ and

“ and do me Justice, it will be better for you,
 “ and you will find no Handle of doing any
 “ thing against me : But if you will not hearken
 “ to me, ² *bring all that are concerned with you*
 “ *together that your Matter be clear, and then*
 “ *make Report of it to me without Delay: 3 My*
 “ *Protector is God, who sent down the Book, (i. e.*
 “ *the Alcoran) and he will be the Protector of the*
 “ *Righteous.*

YEZID I.
 An. Heg. 61.
cepit Sept. 30.
 A. C. 680.

As soon as he uttered these last Words, his Sisters and Daughters lift up their Voices in Weeping; at which *Hosein* said, God reward the Son of *Abbàs*; meaning, because he had advised him to leave the Women behind him. Then he sent his Brother *Alabbàs* and his Son *Ali* to keep them quiet. He next reminded them of his Excellency, the Nobility of his Birth, the Greatness of his Power, and his High Descent, and said, “ Consider with your selves
 “ whether or no such a Man as I am is not
 “ better for you : I who am the Son of your
 “ Prophet’s Daughter, besides whom there is
 “ no other upon the Face of the Earth : *Ali*
 “ was my Father ; *Jaafar* and *Hamzah*, the
 “ chief of the Martyrs, were both my Uncles ;
 “ and the Apostle of God, upon whom be Peace,
 “ said both of me and my Brother, that we were
 “ the chief of the Youth of Paradise ! If you will

² *Alcoran*, C. x. V. 72. ³ vi. 194.

“ believe

YEZID I. “believe me what I say is true, for by God, I
 An. Heg. 61. “never told a Lye in Earnest since I had my
æpit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680. “Understanding, for God hates a Lye. If you
 “do not believe me, ask the Companions of
 “the Apostle of God [*here he named them*] and
 “they will tell you the same. Let me go back
 “to what I have”. They asked what hindered him from being ruled by the rest of his Relations. He answered, God forbid that I should set my Hand to the Resignation of my Right after a slavish manner. *I have recourse to God from every Tyrant that doth not believe in the Day of Account.*

⁶ Just upon this a Party of about thirty Horse wheeled about, and came up to *Hosein*, who expected nothing less than to be attacked by them. *Harro* that had met with *Hosein* first was at the head of them. He came to testify his Repentance, and proffer his Service to *Hosein*, declaring that if he had once thought it would ever have come to that Extremity, he would never have intercepted him, but have gone with him directly to *Yezid*; and to make the best amends for his Mistake, that his present Circumstances would admit of, was resolved to die with him. *Hosein* accepted his Repentance. And *Harro* stood forth and called to the People (to *Amer* in particular) “Alas for you! Will you not accept

⁶ MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A. MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

“those

“ those three Articles, which the Son of the
 “ Apostle’s Daughter offers you ?” *Amer* told
 him, that if it lay in his Power he would, but
Obeidollab was against it, and had been chiding
 and reproaching the *Cusians*, for expressing the
 least Inclination to hearken to them. Then said
Harro, “ Alas for you ! You invited him till he
 “ came, and then deceived him ; and this did
 “ not satisfy you, but you are come out to fight
 “ against him ! Nay you have hindered him,
 “ and his Wives, and his Family, from the Wa-
 “ ter of *Euphrates*, where Jews, and Christians
 “ and Sabians drink, and Hogs and Dogs sport
 “ themselves, and he is like a Prisoner in your
 “ Hands, incapable of doing himself either
 “ good or hurt.” Then *Amer* said to the Slave,
 to whom he had given the Flag, Bring up the
 Colours. As soon as they came up to the front
 of the Troops, *Shamer* shot an Arrow, and said,
 Bear Witness that I shot the first Arrow. The
 Battel thus begun, they exchanged Arrows a-
 pace on both sides. Two of *Amer*’s Men went
 out, and offered themselves to single Combat,
 their Names were *Yaser* and *Salem* ; *Abdollab*
 the Son of *Amer*, having first asked leave of
Hosein, answered them, and killed *Yaser* first,
 and *Salem* next, though *Salem* had first cut off
 all the Fingers of his left Hand. The next that
 offered himself, came up close to *Hosein*, and
 said

YEZID I.
 An. Heg. 61.
 capit Sept. 30.
 A. C. 680.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
cepit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680.

said to him, *Hosein* you are just at Hell. To whom *Hosein* replied; By no means, alas for thee, I go to a merciful Lord, full of Forgiveness, easy to be obeyed, but you are more worthy of Hell. As he turned about, his Horse ran away with him, and he fell off: His left Foot hung in the Stirrop, and as he passed by one of *Hosen's* Men lopped off his right Leg. His Horse continuing his Speed, his Head was all the way dashed against the Stones, till he died. There were several single Combats fought, in all which *Hosein's* Men were superior, because they fought like Men that were resolved to die. This made some of the leading Men advise *Amer* not to expose his Men any longer to the hazard of single Combats. Then *Amrou* the Son of *Hejage*, who commanded the right Wing, gave an Onset with these Words in his Mouth, Fight against those who separate from the Religion, and from the *Imàm* [*Yezid*] and from the Congregation. Alas! said *Hosein*, what do you encourage your Men against us, are we the Men that separate from the Religion, and you those that keep to it? When your Souls are separated from your Bodies, you will know which of us deserve Hell Fire most. In this Attack *Muslim* the Son of *Ausâjah* was killed, he was the first that died on *Hosein's* side, and *Hosein* went and commiserated him at his last Gasps. *Hobeib* said to him, having first told him that

that he was near Paradise, If I was not sure that I should soon follow you, I would fulfil your Will whatsoever it was : To whom *Muslim* answered in a very low Voice, this is my Will (pointing to *Hosein*) that you die for him.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
æpit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680.

Then *Shamer* gave an Onset with the Left Wing with such Violence, that they came very near to *Hosein*, but *Hosein*'s Horse repulsed them bravely ; so that they sent to *Amer* for some Archers, who ordered them above Five Hundred. As soon as they came up, they let fly their Arrows so thick amongst *Hosein*'s Horse, that they were all immediately reduced to Foot. *Harro* perceiving his Horse wounded, leaped off from him with his Sword in his Hand, as eager as a Lion.

Amer perceiving that they were inaccessible every where, but in the Front, commanded his Men to pull down the Tents ; but that not succeeding, for *Hosein*'s Men killed those that went about it, *Shamer*, God confound him, called for Fire to burn *Hosein*'s Tent (having first struck his Javelin into it) with all that were in it. The Women shrieked and ran out of it. How, said *Hosein*, what wouldst thou burn my Family ? God burn thee in Hell-Fire. One of the great Men came to *Shamer*, and represented to him how scandalous, and how unbecoming a Soldier it was to scare the Women : He began to be

alham-

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
cœpit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680.

ashamed of it, and was thinking of retreating, when some of *Hosein's* Men attacked him, and drove him off the Ground with the loss of some of his Men. It was now Noon, and *Hosein* bad some of his Friends speak to them to forbear, till he had said the Prayers proper for that time of Day. One of the *Cusians* said, They will not be heard; *Habib* answered, Alas for you, shall your Prayers be heard, and not the Prayers of the Apostle's Family, upon whom be Peace! *Habib* fought with great Courage till he was killed. Then *Hosein* said the Noon Prayers amongst the poor Remainder of his shattered Company, and to the rest of the Office he added the *Prayer of Fear*, never used but in Cases of Extremity. During the time of the Fight he said several Prayers, in one of which there is this pathetic Expression, *Let not the Dews of Heaven distil upon them, and withhold thou from them the Blessings of the Earth, for they first invited me and then deceived me.* After the Prayers were over the Fight was renewed with great Vehemency on both Sides, till they came up close to *Hosein*, but his Friends protected him: One of them killed ten besides those he wounded; at last he was taken, both his Arms being broken, and *Shamer* struck off his Head. *Hosein's* Party were now almost all cut off, and his eldest Son *Ali* was first wounded with a Lance, and after-

wards

wards cut in Pieces. The rest were most of them singled out by the Archers and shot. *Hosein* staid a long time and no body came to him, but he turned back again, for hardly any of them could find in his Heart to kill him. At last one came and struck him with a Sword upon the Head and wounded him, so that his Head-Piece was full of Blood, which he took off and flung away, saying, that he had neither eat nor drank out of it, and bound up his Head in his Turbant. Quite tired out, he sat down at the Door of his Tent, and took his little Son *Abdollah* upon his Lap, who was presently killed with an Arrow. *Hosein* took his Hand full of the Child's Blood, and throwing it towards Heaven, said, *O Lord! If thou with-holdest help from us from Heaven, give it to those that are better, and take Vengeance upon the wicked.* At last he grew extremely thirsty, and whilst he was drinking, he was shot in the Mouth with an Arrow. He then lift up his Hands to Heaven, which were both full of Blood, and prayed very earnestly. Then *Shamer* encouraged some of the stoutest of his Men to surround him: At the same time a little Nephew of his, a beautiful Child, with Jewels in his Ears, came to embrace him, and had his Hand cut off with a Sword: To whom *Hosein* said, *Thy Reward, Child, is with God, thou shalt go to thy pious Forefathers.* Then they

fur-

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
œpit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
cæpit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680.

surrounded him, and he threw himself into the middle of them, charging sometimes on the Right, and sometimes on the Left, and which way soever he turned himself, they flew off as so many Deer from before a Lyon. His Sister *Zeinab*, the Daughter of *Phatemah*, came out and said, I wish the Heaven would fall upon the Earth; then turning to *Amer*, she asked him if he could stand by and see *Hosein* killed: Whereupon the Tears trickled down his Beard, and he turned his Face away from her. No body offered to meddle with him, till *Shamer* set them on again, with Reproaches and Curses, one of them, for fear of *Shamer*, threw a Lance at him, but made it fall short, because he would not hurt him. At last one wounded him upon the Hand, a second upon the Neck, whilst a third thrust him thorough with a Spear. When he was dead, they cut his Head off. When he was searched there were found upon him Three and thirty Wounds, and Four and thirty Bruises: *Shamer* intended to have killed *Ali* the youngest Son of *Hosein*, that was afterwards called *Zein Alabedin*, i.e. *The Ornament of the Religious*, who was very Young and very sick, but one of his Companions dissuaded him from it. They took *Hosein's* Spear, and the rest of the Spoil, and divided all his Riches, and his Furniture, even so far as to take away the Womens richest

Cloaths:

Cloaths: And though *Amer* forbad their going near the Women, and had given exprefs Command, that whoſoever had taken any thing from them, ſhould return it again; yet they were never the better, for there was nothing reſtored that they had loſt. ¹ *Hofein's* Seventy two Men were killed (Seventeen of which were deſcended from *Phatemah*) and on the other ſide, there were Eighty eight killed, beſides the Wounded: Then they rode their Horſes over *Hofein's* Body backwards and forwards ſo often, that they trampled it into the very Ground. *Haula*, who had his Head, went away Poſt with it to *Obeidollah*; but finding the Caſtle ſhut, he carried it home to his own Houſe, and told his Wife, that he had brought her the Rarity of the World. The Woman was in a Rage, and ſaid, Other Men make Preſents of Gold and Silver, and you have brought the Head of the Son of the Apoſtle's Daughter: By God, the ſame Bed ſhall never hold us two any more; and immediately leaped out of Bed from him and ran away. He procured another of his Countrywomen to ſupply her Place, who reported afterwards that ſhe was not able to ſleep all that Night, becauſe of a Light which ſhe ſaw ſtreaming up towards Heaven from the Place where *Hofein's* Head lay, and white Birds continually hovering about

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¹ MS. Laud. Num. 161. A. MS. Hunt. Num. 495.

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it. *Haula* the next Morning carried the Head to *Obeidollah*, who treated it reproachfully, and struck it over the Mouth with a Stick ; upon which *Zeid* the Son of *Arkôm* said to him, Take away this Stick, for I swear by him, besides whom there is no other God, I have seen the Lips of the Apostle of God (upon whom be Peace) upon these Lips. *Obeidollah* angrily told him, that if he was not an old Man, and out of his Wits, he would strike his Head off.

Zeinab, *Ali*'s Sister, put on her worst Cloaths, and, attended by some of her Maids, went and sat down in the Castle. *Obeidollah* asked thrice who she was, before any one told him : As soon as he knew her, he said, Praise be to God, who hath brought you to Shame, and hath killed you, and proved your Stories to be Lyes : She answered, Praise be to God, who hath honoured us with *Mahomet* (upon whom be God's Peace) and hath purified us, and not [*dealt with us*] as you say, for [*none but*] the Wicked is brought to shame, and the lye is given [*to none but*] to the Evil one. He replied, Do not you see, how God hath dealt with your Family ? She answered, Death was decreed for them, and they are gone to their resting Place ; God shall bring both you and them together, to plead your several Causes before him. This put him into a Rage, but one of his Friends bad him re-

mem-

member that she was a Woman, and not take any thing amiss that she said. *Obeidollah* told her, that God had given his Soul full Satisfaction over their Chief [*Hosein*] and their whole rebellious Family. *Zeinab* answered, you have destroyed all my Men, and my Family, and cut off my Branch, and tore up my Root: If that be Satisfaction to your Soul, you have it. He swore she was a Woman of Courage, adding that her Father was a Poet, and a Man of Courage. She answered, that Courage was no Ingredient in a Woman's Character, but she knew how to speak. Then looking upon *Ali*, *Hosein's* Son, he commanded him to be searched, for he said, he believed he was arrived at Man's Estate: Being informed that he was, he commanded him to be Beheaded. Here *Zeinab* all in Tears embraced her Nephew, and asked *Obeidollah*, if he had not yet drunk deep enough of the Blood of their Family; and intreated him, if he was resolved to kill the Lad, to give her leave to die along with him. Young *Ali* begged of him, for the sake of the near Relation that there was between him and the Women, that he would not send them away without so much as one Man to attend them in their Journey. *Obeidollah* pausing a while, and looking sometimes upon her, and sometimes upon the People, was astonished at her Tenderneſs, and swore he believed

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she was in good Earnest, and had rather die with him, than survive him. At last he dismissed him, and bad him go along with the Women; which they looked upon as a very providential Deliverance, and said that *Obeidollah* would have killed *Ali*, but God diverted him from it.

Obeidollah went from the Castle to the great Mosque, and going up into the Pulpit, said, *Praise be to God, who hath manifestly shewn the Truth, and those that are in the Possession of it; and hath assisted Yezid the Governour of the Faithful, and his Party; and killed the Lyar, the Son of the Lyar Hosein, the Son of Ali and his Party.* This provoked *Ali's* Party to the last Degree; several of them rose up in great Indignation, and among the rest, there was one who was Blind of both his Eyes, which he had lost in two several Battles, and used to continue in the Mosque, praying from Morning to Night. He hearing *Ziyad's* Speech, he cried out. *O Son of Merjanah! (that was his Mother's Name) the Lyar, the Son of the Lyar, are you and your Father, and he that ⁷ gave you your Commission, and his Father. O Son of Merjanah! you kill the Sons of the Prophets, and speak the Words of honest Men.* Every Man, even of his own Party, blamed him for his Rashness, fearing that he had

⁷ That is *Yezid* and *Moawiyah*.

not only brought Destruction upon himself, but upon them too. He was seized by *Obeidollab's* Order, but upon his crying out he was rescued by his Party, there being about Seven Hundred of them at that Time in Town; but notwithstanding his Escape for the present, he was killed soon after, and hung upon a Gibbet on the Heath for an Example.

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Hosein's Head was first set up in *Cusab*, afterwards carried about the Streets, and then sent to *Yezid* at *Damascus*, along with the Women and young *Ali*. When *Obeidollab's* Express came to *Yezid*, and wished him Joy of his Success, and the Death of *Hosein*, *Yezid* wept and said, I should have been very well pleased without the Death of *Hosein*: God curse the Son of *Somyab*; if I had had him in my Power, I would have forgiven him: God loved *Hosein*, but did not suffer him to attain to any thing. *Ali* travelled with a Chain about his Neck; *Shamer* and *Mekhphar* conducted them with a Body of Men, but *Ali* would not vouchsafe to speak one Word to them all the Way. 'Tis said, that whilst they were upon the Road, *Yezid* advised with his Courtiers how he should dispose of them: One of them said, Never bring up the Whelp of a Cur; kill *Ali* the Son of *Hosein*, and extinguish the whole Generation of them: At which *Yezid* held his Peace. Another of a

YEZID I:
An. Heg. 61.
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milder Temper said, *O Emperor of the Faithful do with them as the Apostle of God would do if he were to see them in this their Condition.* This moved him to Compassion. When he saw *Hosein's* Head he said, *O Hosein*, if I had had thee in my Power I would not have killed thee! Then sitting down he called in the chief of the *Syrian Nobility*, and ordered *Hosein's* Wives and Children to be brought before him; but he was very angry when he saw the Women appear in such a mean Condition, and said, God curse the Son of *Somyah*, surely if he had ever been related to these Women he could never have treated them after this scandalous manner. Then turning to *Ali*, he said, This was your Father, who set at nought my Right, and jostled me out of my Government, and God hath disposed of him as you see. Whom *Ali* briskly answered with this Verse in the *Alcoran*,⁵ *There is no Calamity befalls you, either in the Earth, or in your own selves, but it was in a Book before we created it.* *Yezid*, turning to his Son *Caled*, bad him answer him; but *Caled* was Young and Ignorant and had nothing to say. Then said *Yezid*,⁶ *What Calamity hath befallen you, is what your own Hands have drawn upon you, and he pardoneth a great many.* One of the *Syrians* would have begged *Phatemah*, *Ali's* Daughter; she was but a little Girl, and could

⁵ *Alcoran. c. lvii. 22.* ⁶ *Alcoran, c. xlii. 29.*

not tell but it might be so, and in a great Fright laid hold upon her Sister *Zeinab's* Cloaths, who who knew very well that it was contrary to the Law, to force any one out of their own Sect, and said * *He lies : By God, though I die, it neither is in your Power nor his.* At which *Yezid* was angry, and told her, that it was in his Power, and he would do it if he pleased. She told him it was not in his Power to force them out of their own Religion ; at which he started up in a Passion and said, Is this the Language that you come before me withal ? it was your Father and your Brother that went out from the Religion : Then said she, you, and your Father and Grandfather were all in the Right ! This provoked him to say, *Thou lyesst, thou Enemy of God.* How, said *Zeinab*, you the Governour of the Faithful, and reproach us unjustly, and make an ill use of your Power ! At which he blushed and held his peace. The *Syrian* petitioning again for *Phatemah*, *Yezid* cursed him, and bad him be quiet. He then ordered them to be conducted to the hot Bath, and sent them Cloaths and all Provisions necessary for their Refreshment after the Fatigue of their tedious Journey. He entertained the Women with all

YEZID I.
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cæpit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680.

* She used that word, to express her Contempt of him ; and gave him the Lye for demanding what was impracticable.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
cepit Sept. 30.
A. C. 679.



possible Respect in his Palace; and *Moawiyah's* Wives came, and kept them Company the space of three Days, mourning for *Hosein*. So long as they staid, he never walked abroad but he took *Ali* and *Amrou*, *Hosein's* two Sons, along with him! Once he asked *Amrou*, who was very little, whether he would fight with his Son *Caled*; *Amrou* immediately answered, Give me a Knife, and give him one. An Enemy to the Family of *Ali*, a Court Flatterer, said upon this, Depend upon it always, that one Serpent is the Parent of another.

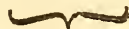
After they had taken a competent Time for their Refreshment, and were resolved upon their Journey to *Medinah*, *Yezid* sent for his Wives and Children to take their leaves, and commanded *Nòoman*, the Son of *Bashir*, to accommodate them with all necessary Provisions, and send them Home with a safe Convoy. When he dismissed them he said to *Ali*, “ God curse the Son
“ of *Marjànab*; if your Father had fallen into
“ my Hands, I would have granted him any
“ Condition he would have desired, and done
“ whatsoever lay in my Power to have saved
“ him from Death, though it had been with the
“ loss of some of my own Children. But God
“ hath decreed what you see: Write to me:
“ Whatsoever you desire shall be done for
“ you.”

The

The Person to whose Care *Yezid* had committed them, behaved himself so civilly and respectfully to them all the Way, (for they travelled in the Night as well as in the Day, and he was very vigilant over them) that *Phatemah* said to her Sister *Zeinab*; Sister, this *Syrian* hath behaved himself so kindly to us, do not you think we ought to make him a Present? Alas! said *Zeinab*, we have nothing to present him withal but our Jewels: Then, said the Girl, let us give him them: She consented, and they took off their Bracelets and sent them to him with an Apology, begging of him to accept of them as a Token of their Respect for his Courtesy: He modestly refused them with this generous Answer, “ *If what I have done had been only with regard to this World, a less Price than your Jewels had been a sufficient Reward; but what I did was for God’s Sake, and upon the account of your Relation to the Prophet, God’s Peace be upon him.*” When they came to *Medinah* there was such Lamentation made between them and the rest of the Family of *Hasshem*, as is not to be expressed.

⁴ There are different Reports concerning *Hosein’s* Head: Some say it was sent to *Medinah*, and buried by his Mother; others, that it was buried at *Damascus*, in a Place called the Gar-

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
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* *Abulpheda.*

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
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den-Gate, from whence it was removed to *Ascalon*; and afterwards by the *Chaliphs* of *Ægypt*, to *Grand Cairo*, where they interred it and erected a Monument over it, which they called the ⁵ Sepulchre of *Hosein the Martyr*. ⁶ These *Ægyptian Chaliphs*, who called themselves *Phatemites*, and had Possession of *Ægypt* from before the Year Four Hundred, till after the Year Six Hundred and Sixty, pretend that *Hosein's* Head came into *Ægypt* after the Five Hundredth Year of the *Hegirah*; but the *Imàms* of the Learned say, That there is no Foundation for that Story of theirs, but that they only intended by it to make their Pretence to the Nobility of their Extraction pass more current, since they called themselves *Phatemites*, as being descended from *Mahomet's* Daughter *Phatemah*.

⁷ Some pretend to shew his Burying Place near the River of *Kerbela*; others say that there are no Footsteps of it remaining. ⁸ The first Sultan of the Race of the *Bovides* built a sumptuous Monument there, which is visited to this very Day with great Devotion by the *Persians*: This Sultan called his Edifice by the Name of *Kunbud Faiz*, which signifies in the *Persian* Language, the *Magnificent Dome*; but they now

⁵ *Méshed Hosein*. ⁶ MS. Hunt. Num. 495. ⁷ *Adhade-doulat*. ⁸ *D'Herbelot in Motawakkel*.

commonly call it in *Arabick Meshed Hosein*, The Sepulchre of Hosein the Martyr.

YEZID I.
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The *Chaliph Almotawakkel*, who began to reign in the Year Two Hundred and Thirty Two, persecuted the Memory of *Ali* and his Family to that Degree, that he caused *Hosein's* Sepulchre (called by the *Persians*, The Holy, Sublime and Pure Place) to be quite razed and destroyed, and to obliterate entirely the least Remainder of it, was resolved to draw a Canal of Water over it; however he was frustrated in his Attempt, for the Water would never come near the Tomb, but kept its Distance out of Respect; from whence that Water was called *Hâir*, which signifies *astonished* and *respectful*, a Name which hath since passed to the Sepulchre it self, upon the Account of such a Miracle. ² But there is one *Naïm*, who used to be angry with any one that pretended to know the Place of his Burial.

³ The two Titles which they generally give *Hosein* in *Persia* are, that of *Shabîd*, the Martyr, or that of *Séyyid*, the Lord; and by the Word *Alseidâni*, which signifies the two Lords, without adding any thing more, they always understand the two eldest Sons of *Ali*, who were *Hasan* and *Hosein*.

They report, that amongst other Acts of Piety which *Hosein* practised, he used every twenty

² MS. *Hunt*. Numb. 495. ³ *D'Herbelot*.

YEZID I. four Hours to make a Thousand Adorations or
 An.Heg. 61. Prostrations before God; and that at the Age of
 capit Sept. 30. five and fifty Years he had gone five and twenty
 A. C. 680. Pilgrimages on Foot; whereas a good Musle-
 man is not obliged to go above once in his whole
 Life.

Yezdi, in a Treatise concerning ¹ the Divine Love, relates, that *Hosein* having one Day asked his Father *Ali* if he loved him, and *Ali* having answered, that he loved him tenderly; *Hosein* asked him once more if he loved God, and *Ali* having also answered that Question affirmatively, *Hosein* said to him, Two Loves can never meet in the same Heart, neither hath God given a Man two Hearts. At these Words *Ali*'s Heart was moved, and they say he wept.

Hosein touched with his Father's Tears, resumed the Discourse, and said to him, to comfort him; If you had your Choice between the Sin of Infidelity towards God, or my Death, what would you do? *Ali* answered, I would sooner deliver you up to Death than abandon my Faith: Then you may know by this Mark, replied *Hosein*, that the Love you have for me is only a natural Tenderneſs, and that which you bear towards God is a true Love.

¹ The Title is *Refâlat phi biyâni'l mehabbat*.

He was killed on the ² tenth Day of the Month *Moharram*, in the Year of the *Hegirah* 61. This Date is so celebrated amongst the *Perfians*, that to this very Day they call it *the Day of Hosein, Yaum Hosein, Rûz Hosein*. The Memory of, and mourning for this Death, are still annually celebrated among them ; and it is this Anniversary Weeping and extravagant Lamentation that still keeps up the Aversion of this Nation to all the Muslemans that are not in the same Sentiments with themselves ; so that it causes for that Time an implacable Hatred between the Successors of the Family of *Omiyah* and *Abbàs*, and all those that do not look upon *Abubeker*, *Omar* and *Othman* to have been Usurpers, and *Ali* the only Rightful and Lawful Successor of *Mahomet*.

YEZIDI.
An.Heg.61.
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³ My *Anonymous* Author is very severe upon the Sect of *Ali*, both upon the Account of the many Fables they have invented concerning *Hosein*, and their superstitious Observation of the Day of his Death. Let us hear him in his own Words, “ The Sect of *Ali*, says he, have forged
“ a Multitude of abominable Lyes upon this
“ Occasion ; they say that the Sun was eclipsed
“ upon this Day, so that the Stars appeared at

² *October* 19. A. C. 680. Though the *English* Reader must not suppose that they keep the ninth of our *October*, but the tenth of *Moharram*, according as it falls, because theirs is the Lunar Year. ³ MS. *Hunt.* Num. 495.

“ Noon

YEZID I. " Noon Day ; that you could not take up a
 An. Heg. 61. " Stone but there was Blood under it ; that the
cæpit Sept. 30. " Sides of the Heavens were turned red, and
 A. C. 680. " when the Sun arose the Beams of it looked
 " like Blood ; that the Heavens looked like clot-
 " ted Blood ; that the Stars strook one against
 " the other ; that the Heavens rained red Blood,
 " and that before this Day there was no Redness
 " in the Heavens ; that when *Hosein's* Head was
 " brought into the Palace, the Walls dropt with
 " Blood ; that the Earth was darkened for the
 " Space of three Days ; that no body could
 " touch any Saffron or ¹ Juniper all that Day
 " but it burnt his Fingers : that there was ne-
 " ver a Stone taken up in *Jerusalem* but there
 " was clotted Blood under it ; and that when
 " one of *Hosein's* Camels that was killed was
 " boiled, the Flesh of it was as bitter as *Colo-*
 " *quintida* ; besides innumerable other Lyes
 " without any manner of Foundation : But this
 " is true, that they that had a Hand in his
 " Death dwindled away and came to nothing ;
 " but soon fell sick, and most of them died mad.
 " In the Time of the Government of the Fa-
 " mily of the *Bowides*, they used to keep this
 " Day as a Solemn Fast, and throw Dust and
 " Ashes about the Streets of *Bagdad*, and cloath
 " themselves with black Sack-cloth, and express

¹ Arab. Wars.

“ the highest Degree of Sorrow and Lamenta-
 “ tion : A great many of them would drink no
 “ Water, in Conformity to *Hosein*, who was
 “ killed when he was thirsty ; all which are
 “ abominable Inventions and vile Practices con-
 “ trived on purpose to cast an Aspersions upon
 “ the Government of the House of *Ommiyah*,
 “ because he was killed in their Time. Now
 “ they that killed him, urge against him, that
 “ he came to depose a Person that was set over
 “ them by the Consent of the People, and to
 “ make a Division amongst them, which was
 “ first begun by *Muslim* ; but some of the Doc-
 “ tors caution against this with the utmost In-
 “ dignation, as a pernicious and dangerous way
 “ of arguing : They determine thus ; If a cer-
 “ tain Number did interpret [*the Law*] against
 “ him and kill him, they had nothing to do to
 “ kill him, but it was their Duty to have ac-
 “ corded to him one of his three Proposals ;
 “ * and if a Party of insolent Fellows find fault
 “ with a whole People and rise against its Pro-
 “ phet (upon whom be God’s Peace) the Mat-
 “ ter is not to be [*determined*] according to their
 “ Practice and Example, but according to the
 “ Majority of the Nation both Ancient and
 “ Modern : Those that were concerned in *Ho-*
 “ *sein*’s Death, were only a small Handful of

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* MS. *Hunt.* Numb. 495.

YEZID I. " *Cusians*, (God confound them) and the greatest
 An. Heg. 61. " Part of them had written to him, and brought
capit Sept. 30. " him into their pernicious Counsels and De-
A. C. 680. " signs; neither did all that Army [*that went*
 " *against him*] approve of that which fell out,
 " nor did *Yezid* the Son of *Moawiyah*, the Go-
 " vernour of the Faithful, at that Time approve
 " of his Death, (though God knows) nor had
 " any Aversion to him: What appears most
 " probable is, that if he had had him in his
 " Power before he was killed, he would have
 " spared his Life according to his Father's Di-
 " rection, as he said he would himself.

" Now every Musleman ought to be concern-
 " ed at this Accident of his Death, (God ac-
 " cept him) for he was one of the Lords of the
 " Muslemans, and one of the learned Men of
 " the Society, and the Daughter's Son of the
 " Apostle of God, who was the most excellent
 " of his Daughters, and he was devout, coura-
 " geous and munificent; yet notwithstanding all
 " this, what these People do in making an out-
 " ward Show of Sorrow, which perhaps is the
 " Case of most of them, is not at all becoming.
 " His Father was a better Man than him, yet
 " they do not keep the Day upon which he was
 " murdered, as they do that of *Hosein*; and *Ali*
 " was killed as he went out to Morning Prayer,
 " on the seventeenth of the Month *Ramadan* in
 " the

“ the fortieth Year: And *Othman* the Son of *YEZID I.*
 “ *Affàn* was a better Man than *Ali*, according *An. Heg. 61.*
 “ to those that follow the Tradition and the ² *capit Sept. 30.*
 “ Church; and he was killed after he had been *A. C. 680.*
 “ besieged in his own House, in the hot Days
 “ of the Month *Du’lbagiab*, in the thirty sixth
 “ Year; and he was cut from one jugular Vein
 “ to the other, and yet the People never kept
 “ his Day: And so in like manner *Omar* the
 “ Son of *Alchitáb* was a better Man than *Oth-*
 “ *man*, he was killed as he was saying the Pray-
 “ ers in the *Imám’s* Desk and was reading the
 “ *Alcoran*, and his Day was never kept; and
 “ *Abubecr* was a better Man than he, but the
 “ Day of his Death was never observed: And
 “ the Apostle of God, upon whom be Peace,
 “ who is absolute Lord of all the Sons of Men,
 “ both in this World and that which is to come;
 “ God took him to himself even as the Prophets
 “ before him died; yet the Muslemans never
 “ made such a Stir about the Observation of
 “ the Day of his Death as a solemn Day, as
 “ these Fools do about the Day in which *Hosein*

“ What the *Jews* call עדת *Edah*, the *Greeks* ἐκκλησία,
 and we in *English Church*, the *Arabians* call *jemáah*, and
 mean the very same thing by it, viz. The Congregation of
 the Faithful united under their lawful *Imám*, or, Head:
 And they denominate as we do, those that separate from
 them, according to their particular Tenets or Opinions.

YEZID I. "was killed." Thus far my Author in his own
 An. Heg. 61. Words.

cæpit Sept. 30.
 A. C. 680.

9 This same Year *Yezid* made *Salem*, the Son of *Ziyâd*, Lieutenant of *Sejestan* and *Chorasân*, when he came Ambassador to him; he was then Twenty Four Years of Age; as soon as he came to his Charge he gathered together a select Number of Forces, and the best Horses that could be found, in order to make an Invasion upon the *Turks*. He carried his Wife along with him, (the first *Arabian* Woman that ever passed over that River) who was brought to Bed of a Son in that part of the Country which is called the *Sogd* of *Samarcand*, being the neighbouring Plains and Villages that lye round about that City, from whence he was afterwards Sirnamed *Sogdi*, that is the *Sogdian*: When she lay in she sent to the Duke of *Sogd*'s Lady to borrow her Jewels; she sent her her Golden Crown that was full of them, which she had not the good Manners to restore again, but carried it along with her upon the Return of the *Arabians*. *Salem* sent *Mohal-leb* to *Chowarezmi*, the chief City of the *Turks*, who were willing to purchase Peace at any Rate; he assessed them and their Cattle at so much a Head, that the Sum arose to fifty Millions: *Salem* having taken out of it what he thought fit, sent the rest to *Yezid*. He then marched

forwards towards *Samarcand*, the Inhabitants whereof made their Peace with a vast Sum of Money. This same Year, in the beginning of the Month *Du'lbagiah*, *Yezid* made *Waled* the Son of *Otbah* Governour of *Medinah*, who headed the People on Pilgrimage to *Meccah* both this and the following Year. *Basorah* and *Cusab* were still in the Hands of *Obeidollah*.

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cæpit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680.

Hosein being removed, *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, who had never submitted to *Yezid's* Government, began now to declare publicly against him, and deposed him at *Medinah*. The Inhabitants of *Meccah* and *Medinah*, perceiving that *Yezid* did all that lay in his power to suppress the House of *Ali*, rebelled against him, and proclaimed *Abdollah* for their *Caliph*. As soon as he had taken their Suffrages, to strengthen his Interest by Popularity, he made long Speeches to the People, wherein he aggravated all the Circumstances of *Hosein's* Death to the last degree, and represented the *Irakians* in general, and the *Cusians* in particular, as the most perfidious Villains upon the face of the Earth: How they had invited him first, and basely betrayed him afterwards: What a scandalous Proposal they had offered a Person of his Dignity, either of surrendering himself into the Hands of the Son of *Ziyad*, or else fighting them at so great a disadvantage: How heroically he had behaved

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 61.
capit Sept. 30.
A. C. 680.

himself in preferring an honourable Death to an ignominious Life: He magnified his Merits, and reminded them of his exemplary Sanctity, his frequent Watchings, Fastings and Prayers; in a word, whatsoever might contribute towards the endearing his Memory, and stir up in the People a desire of Revenge, and an utter Abhorrence and Detestation of that Government which was the Cause of his death. The People who were always well affected to *Hosein* heard these Discourses with delight, and *Abdollah's* Party grew very strong. When *Yezid* heard of his Progress he swore he would have him in Chains, and accordingly sent a Silver Collar for him to *Merwan* then Governour of *Medinah*, with Orders to put it about his Neck, and send him with it to *Damascus*, in case he persisted in his Attempts; but *Abdollah* ridiculed both them and their Collar.

There was at this time one *Abdollah* the Son of *Amrou* in *Ægypt*, a Person of great repute for his profound Understanding: He used to study the Prophet *Daniel*. *Amrou* the Son of *Saïd*, Governour of *Meccah*, sent to him to know what he thought of this Man, meaning *Abdollah*, the Son of *Zobeir*: He answered, That he thought of him no otherwise than as of a Man that would carry his Point, and live and dye a King. This Answer from a Man of his Character

rafter gave great Encouragement to *Abdollah* and his Party, for it had a great Influence upon the generality of the People. *Amrou* the Son of *Saïd*, the Governour of *Meccah*, was in his Heart a mortal Enemy to *Abdollah* and his Pretensions, yet still he thought it the best way to carry it fair with him. Some of *Yezid*'s Courtiers represented to him, that if *Amrou* had been heartily in his Interest, it was in his power to have seized *Abdollah* and sent him to him; upon which Suggestion *Yezid* removed him, and put *Waled* the Son of *Otbah* into his Place.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 62.
cœpit Sept. 19.
A. C. 681.

² As soon as *Waled* had taken Possession of his new Government of *Meccah*, he began to exert his Authority by imprisoning Three Hundred of the Servants and Dependants of his Predecessor *Amrou*. *Amrou* sent a private Message to them to bid them break the Prison at such an Hour, promising them that there should be a sufficient number of Camels ready for them kneeling in the Street; which they should immediately mount, and repair to him, who was going to wait upon *Yezid*. This succeeded; and when *Amrou* came before *Yezid* he first received him courteously, and bad him sit down by him, and then began to rebuke him for his Remissness in the execution of his Commands, and not taking sufficient care to suppress *Abdollah*. To

² An. Heg. 62. cœpit Sept. 19. A. C. 681.

YEZID I. which he answered, " Governour of the Faith-
 An. Heg. 62. " ful, he that is present sees more than he that
æpit Sept. 19. " is absent ; the greatest Part of the People of
A. C. 681. " *Hejaz* and *Meccah* were favourably inclined
 " to his Party, and encouraged one another as
 " well in publick as in private ; besides, I had
 " no Forces sufficient to oppose them, if I had
 " attempted it ; however he was always upon
 " his Guard and in fear of me, and I carried it
 " fair with him in order to take a proper Op-
 " portunity of getting him into my Power :
 " Notwithstanding his Interest and Caution I
 " streightened him, and hindered him from do-
 " ing a great many Things ; I placed Men round
 " about the Streets and Passages of *Meccah*, that
 " suffered no Man to pass till he had written
 " down his own Name and his Father's, and
 " from which of God's Countries he came, and
 " what was his Business : And if he was any of
 " his Friends, or whom I suspected to favour
 " his Designs, I sent him packing ; if otherwise,
 " I permitted him quietly to go about his Con-
 " cerns ; and now you have sent *Waled* the Son
 " of *Otbah*, who in all probability will give you
 " such an account of his Administration, as will
 " justify my Conduct, and convince you of the
 " sincerity of my Advice." *Yezid* was very well
 " satisfied, and told him, " that he was an honest
 " Man than they that had incensed him against
 " him,

“ him, and that he should depend upon him
 “ for the future ?” ⁷ In the mean time the new
 Governour *Waled* was imploying all his Skill to
 ensnare *Abdollah*, who was always upon his
 Guard, and was still too cunning for him. There
 was at the same time upon the Death of *Hosein*,
 one *Naidah* a *Yemamian*, that appeared with a
 body of Men, not against *Abdollah*, but *Yezid*;
 as for *Abdollah*, he and *Naidah* were so familiar,
 that it was generally believed, that *Naidah* would
 give him his Allegiance. Quickly after ⁸ *Abdol-*
lah sent a Letter to *Yezid*, complaining that he
 had sent a Fool of a Governour thither, that
 was not capable of such a Trust: That if he
 sent a Man of a tractable Disposition, their Dif-
 ferences might be compromised as well for the
 good of the Publick, as their own in particular.
Yezid, desirous of Peace upon any Terms, indis-
 creetly hearkens to the Advice of his mortal Ene-
 my, removes *Waled*, and sends *Othman* the Son of
Mahomet and Grandson of *Abusophyan*: This
Othman was by no means qualified for a Trust of
 that Importance, being Raw, Ignorant, and alto-
 gether unexperienced, not capable of looking into
 any Part of his Business. He sent Ambassadors
 from *Medinah* to *Yezid*, who received them kind-
 ly, and gave them Presents; but they took such
 Offence at his conversation, that when they re-

YEZID I.
 An. Heg. 62.
 cepit Sept. 19.
 A. C. 681.



⁷ MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A. ⁸ MS. *Hunt.* *Naidah*.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 62.
æpit Sept. 19.
A. C. 681.

turned, they did all they could to inflame the People against him : They told the *Medinians* that they were come from a Man that had no Religion at all ; that he was frequently drunk with Wine, and minded nothing but his Tabors, his singing Wenches, and his Dogs ; that he used to spend whole Evenings in talking with vile Fellows, and singing Girls, and they declared that for their Part, they did depose him ; in which Action they were followed by a great many, and it is said that they gave their Allegiance to one *Abdollah* the Son of *Hantelah*. *Almündir*, who was one of the Ambassadors, did not return with them to *Medinah*, but went to *Obeidollah* to *Basorah*, who entertained him in his House, with a great deal of Friendship, for they were old Acquaintance. As soon as *Yezid* was informed, how the rest of the Ambassadors had used him at *Medinah*, he wrote to *Obeidollah* to bind *Almundir*, and keep him close till further Orders. *Obeidollah* looked upon this to be a breach of the Rules of Hospitality, and instead of obeying the Order, shewed it to *Almundir*, advising him when the People were come together, to pretend very urgent Business, and in the Presence of them all to ask leave to be gone. This granted, away goes *Almundir* full of Resentment to *Medinah*, and there confirms all that the other Ambassadors had said before to the Re-

proach

proach of *Yezid*; adding, that though he confessed that *Yezid* had presented him with an Hundred Pieces, yet that could not influence him so far, as to hinder him from speaking what he was a Witness of, relating to his Drunkenness, idle Conversation, and neglecting the Prayers oftner than any of his Men. *Yezid* was informed of all, and vowed to be revenged on him for his Ingratitude.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 62.
cepit Sept. 19.
A. C. 681.

Then *Yezid* sent *Nóoman* the Son of *Bashir* to *Medinab*, to quiet the People, and persuade them to return to their Duty and Allegiance: When he came there, he represented to them the folly of their Proceedings, and the Danger they exposed themselves to, by such seditious Practices; assuring them that they were not a Match for the Forces of *Syria*. One of them asked him what Motive induced him to come upon such Errand, and make Division among them after they were agreed? *Nóoman* told him, Because he was loath there should be any Blood shed between the two Parties, and see these poor Creatures (meaning the *Anfars* or Inhabitants of *Medinab*) killed in their Streets, and Mosques, and in the Doors of their own Houses. They would not be ruled by him, and he left them; but what he gave them fair Warning of, they found afterwards too true.

The

YEZID I.

An. Heg. 62.

Sept. 19.

A.C. 681.



The *Medinians* in their Obstinacy having renounced all Allegiance to *Yezid*, set over the *Koreish*, *Abdollah* the Son of *Mothi*, and over the *Anfars*, *Abdollah* the Son of *Hantelah*, a Noble Person of excellent Endowments, very Religious, and very much revered by all: He had Eight Sons went along with him on the Embassy. *Yezid* presented him with an Hundred Thousand Pieces, and every one of his Sons with Ten Thousand; besides their Vests. In the beginning of the Sixty Third Year they broke out into open Rebellion, after this manner: When they were gathered together in the Mosque round about the Pulpit, one of them said, *I lay aside Yezid as I lay aside this Turbant*, throwing his Turbant against the Ground. Another said, *I put away Yezid as I put away this Shoe*; which Examples were followed till there was a great Heap of Shoes and Turbants. The next step they took was to turn out *Yezid's* Lieutenant *Othmam*, and banish all the Family of *Ommiyah*, together with all their Friends and Dependants, from *Medinah*: They being about a Thousand, took Refuge in *Merwan* the Son of *Hakem's* House, where the *Medinians* besieged them so closely that they sent word to *Yezid*, That unless they received speedy Relief they must inevitably perish. *Yezid* wondered, when he heard they were so many, that they should suffer

suffer themselves to be so confined without making the least Resistance, and asked *Amrou*, the Son of *Saïd*, Whom he thought the fittest Person to be sent upon this Expedition ; offering it at the same time to him : *Amrou* excused himself, and told him, That he had done him all the Service he could there before, and he was pleased to remove him from his Government ; now since the Blood of the *Coreish* was to be poured upon the Dust, he begged that somebody not so nearly related to them as he was, might be employed in that Business. Upon this he sends for *Meslém*, the Son of *Okbah*, who, though very ancient and infirm, was willing to undertake the Command of the Forces, consisting of Twelve Thousand Horse and Five Thousand Foot. *Meslém* told *Yezid* that those Thousand Men that suffered themselves to be so distressed without fighting did not deserve any Assistance ; That they had neither shewn personal Courage nor Loyalty to their Sultan ; That they ought to be let alone till they had exerted themselves, and deserved Encouragement ; but *Yezid* told him that his Life would do him no good if they were not safe. *Yezid* rode about with his Sword by his side, and an *Arabian* Bow over his Shoulders, viewing the Troops, and giving Directions to his General *Meslém* ; particularly, That he should take care of *Ali*,
the

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 63.
cœpit Sept. 9.
A. C. 682.

YEZID I. the Son of *Hosein*, concerning whom he had
 An. Heg. 63. been informed that he was not at all in the
cæpit Sept. 9. Measures of the Rebels, nor any of his Family,
A. C. 682. wherefore he commanded him to shew him
 respect, and place him next him. That as for
 the Town, he should summons it Three Days
 successively, and if they did not surrender them-
 selves upon the Summons, after he had taken it
 he should leave it for Three Days entirely to the
 Mercy of the Soldiers.

The *Medinians* refused to surrender, and the
 General made Preparations for a Storm; he was
 advised to make his Assault on the East-side,
 that the Besieged might have the Sun in their
 Faces; this proved of service to him: The *Me-
 dinians* made a vigorous Defence; they had made
 a large Ditch round about the City, and held
 out a considerable time, till in the end most of
 the *Anfars* and considerable Men being killed;
 they finding themselves pressed would have sur-
 rendered, but *Meslém*, from whose Hands they
 refused Peace at the beginning of the Siege,
 would not receive them but at Discretion.

Then, entering the City with Sword in Hand,
 he first sent for *Ali* and treated him with respect,
 and to quiet all his Apprehensions of Fear, and
 dismiss him honourably, he called for his own
 Camel and sent him home upon it; then they
 put all to the Sword that they met, plundered
 every

every thing that was valuable, and got a Thousand of the Women with Child. Without any reverence to its being the Burying-Place of the Prophet they sacked it for Three Days, and those that escaped the edge of the Sword *Mezlém* took under the Protection of the Government, but only upon this Condition, ⁷ That they should own themselves Slaves and Vassals to *Yezid*; upon which Account he purchased the Name of *Musriph*, which signifies in *Arabick*, *extravagant*, *exorbitant*, because he had exceeded in the execution of his Orders. This Battle was fought when there were Three Nights left of the Month *Dulhagiah*.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 64.
capit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

Mezlém having thus severely chastised the Insolence of the *Medinians*, marched directly with his Army towards *Meccah*, but died by the way, in the Month *Mobarram* of the Sixty fourth Year. Upon his Death, *Hosein* took upon him the command of the Army, and Besieged *Abdollah* in *Meccah* the Space of Forty Days, during which time he battered it so roughly that he beat down a great part of the Temple, and burnt the rest; and this City had run the same Fortune with *Medinah*, if the News of *Yezid's* Death had not recalled *Hosein* into *Syria*.

⁸ *Abdollah* heard of *Yezid's* Decease before the Syrian Army had received any Intelligence of

⁷ *Abulpheda*. ⁸ MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 64.
capit Aug. 29.
A.C. 683.

it, and called out to them from the Walls, and asked them what they fought for, for their Master was dead : But they would not believe him, but continued their Siege with great Vigour, till they received further Information. *Hosein* having heard that News, told *Abdollah* that he was of Opinion, that it would be the best way to forbear shedding any more Blood, and proffered him his Allegiance, if he would accept of the Government, assuring him that all this Army, wherein were the leading Men of all *Syria*, would be in his Interest, and that there was no fear of any Opposition ; but he durst not trust him : As they were talking together, just where the Pidgeons that flew from the Temple of *Meccah* were pecking something upon the Ground, *Hosein* turned his Horse aside, which *Abdollah* taking notice of, asked him the Reason ; he said he was afraid his Horse should kill the Temple Pidgeons ; *Abdollah* asked him how he could scruple that, and at the same time kill the *Muslemans* ? *Hosein* told him that he would not fight against him any more, and only desired that they might have leave to go round the Temple of *Meccah*, before their Departure ; which was granted. Some say that that Temple was not set on Fire by the Engines, but that *Abdollah* hearing in the Night a shouting from the Mountains of *Meccah*, put

Fire

Fire upon the end of a Spear, to see if he could make any Discovery; which being waisted with the Wind, the Sparks laid hold first on the Hangings, and then took the Wood-work. *Abdollah* afterwards, when it was too late, repented his Refusal of *Hosein's* Proffer; and those of the House of *Ommiyah*, that were in *Medinah*, accompanied *Hosein* into *Syria*.

YEZID L.
An. Heg. 64.
capit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

⁸ *Yezid* died in *Hawwarin*, in the Territories of *Hems*, when four Nights were passed of the first *Rebiyah*, in the Sixty fourth Year of the *Hegirah*, in the Thirty ninth Year of his Age, after he had Reigned three Years and six Months. He was a Man of a ruddy Complexion, with curled Hair, black Eyes, pitted with the Small-Pox: He had a handsome Beard, and was a thin tall Man, he left behind him several Children of both Sexes: His Son *Caled* is reported to have been skilled in the Art of Alchimy, and his Son *Abdollah* to have been the most exact Archer of all the *Arabians* in his time. His Mother's Name was *Meisûn* of the Family of the *Kelabi*; she was an excellent Poetess, and had pleased *Moawiyah's* Fancy to that degree with some of her Verses, that he made her go back into the Desert amongst her own Relations, and take her Son *Yezid* along with her, that he might be brought up a Poet

⁸ *Abulpheda*.

YEZID I. too. This Part of his Education succeeded, for
 An. Heg. 64. he was reckoned to excell that way, though
capit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.
 his chief Talent consisted in making a drunken
 Catch.

¹ It is observed of him, that he was the first *Caliph* that drank Wine publickly, and was waited upon by Eunuchs; besides they reproach him with bringing up, and being fond of Dogs, which the more scrupulous *Mahometans* have in Abomination.

But the greatest Vices of this *Caliph*, were his Impiety and Covetousness, which occasioned a ² certain Author to say, that to make the Empire of the *Muslemans* flourish, it ought to be in the Hands of Princes either pious, such as were the first four *Caliphs*, or liberal, as *Moawiyah*; but when it was governed by a Prince that had neither Piety nor Generosity, such an one as *Yezid*, all would be lost.

³ The *Mahometan* Doctors look upon *Yezid's* allowing the Soldiers to commit such abominable Outrages in the City of the Prophet, ⁴ and suffering it to be so prophaned, as a very wicked Action: They do not scruple to say, that he did it, imagining to preserve his Life and Government; but God dealt with him as a Tyrant, and the being cut off in the Flower

¹ *D'Herbelot.* ² *Rabi Alakyar.* ³ *MS. Hunt. Num. 495.*

⁴ *MS. Laud. Num. 161. A.*

of his Age, was a Judgment inflicted upon him for that Presumption. They quote this saying of *Mahomet*, *Whoever injureth Medinah shall melt away, even as Salt melteth away in the Water.*

YEZID I.
An. Heg. 64.
cœpit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

² All the *Persian* Authors never mention him but with abomination, and ordinarily add this Imprecation to his Name, *Laanabùllah*, that is, *The curse of God be upon him*; which they do not do upon the account of his Vices, but because of the Death of *Hosein*, the Son of *Ali*, whom he attempted to destroy by Poison, and whom he afterwards caused to be killed with all his Family on the Plains of *Kerbelah*.

Under his *Caliphate* the *Muslemans* conquered all *Chorasan* and *Chowarezm*, and put the Estates of the Prince of *Samarkand* under Contribution. The Motto of his Seal was, *God is our Lord.*

² *D'Herbelot.*

*The Third Chaliph of the House of
Ommiyah, (being the Eighth from
MAHOMET.)*

M O A W I Y A H,

The Son of YEZID.

Moawiyah II.
An. Heg. 64.
capit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

AS soon as *Yezid* was dead, his Son *Moawiyah* was proclaimed *Chaliph* at *Damascus*; he was near one and twenty Years of Age,¹ a religious young Man and of a very weak Constitution; he was of the Sect of the *Alcadarii* (who are a Branch of the *Motázeli*, and differ in their Opinions from the Orthodox *Muslemans* in that they deny God's Decree, and assert Free-Will; affirming, that the contrary Opinion makes God the Author of Evil) and his favourite Master was *Omar Almekfous*: Him he consulted to know whether he ought to accept the *Chaliphate* or not: His Master told him, that if he found himself able to administer Justice exactly to the *Muslemans*, and to acquit himself of all the Du-

¹ *Abulpheda. Abulpheragius. D'Herbelot.*

ties of that Dignity, that he ought to accept it ; otherwise that he ought not to charge himself with it.

Moawiyah II.
An. Heg. 64.
æpit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

This *Chaliph* had scarce reigned the Space of six Weeks, but he found himself too weak to sustain the Weight of the Government, and took a Resolution to lay it down. To this End he called a Council of the Greatest Men of the Court, and told them, That when he first entertained the Thought of abdicating himself, he designed to follow the Example of *Abubeker*, and nominate a Successor as that first *Chaliph* had done his ; but that he had not found, as he had done, Men like *Omar* upon whom to settle his Choice. Then he told them, that he had also a Design of imitating *Omar*, and naming six Persons upon one of which the Choice should fall by Lot ; but that he had not found so many among them capable of it, and therefore could not determine himself to fix upon that Number.

I am therefore resolved, added he, to leave the Choice entirely to your Disposal ; upon which the principal Statesmen having told him, that they had nothing to do but to chuse that Person amongst them that he should please, and that all the rest would obey him, *Moawiyah* answered them in these Terms ; As I have not hitherto enjoyed the Advantages of the *Chaliphate*, it is not reasonable that I should charge

Moawiyah II.
An. Heg. 64.
capit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

my self with the most odious Part that belongs to it ; therefore I hope that you will not take it amiss if I discharge my Conscience towards you, and that you judge for yourselves who is most capable amongst you to fill my Place.

As soon as *Moawiyah* had made his Abdication in so good Form, they proceeded to the Election of a *Chaliph*, and the Choice fell upon *Merwan* the Son of *Hakem*, who was the Fourth of the *Chaliphs* of *Syria* ; *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir* having been declared *Chaliph* in *Arabia*, *Iràk*, *Chorasàn*, *Ægypt*, and a great Part of *Syria*.

Moawiyah had no sooner renounced the *Chaliphate* but he shut himself up in a Chamber, from whence he never stirred till he died, some say of the Plague, others by Poison, not long after his Abdication ; and they say that the Family of *Ommiyah* was so very much irritated at his Proceeding, that they made their Resentment break out upon the Person of *Omar Almekfous*, whom they buried alive, because they supposed that he had advised *Moawiyah* to depose himself. This *Chaliph* was nick-named *Abuleilah*, that is to say, *The Father of the Night*, because of his natural Weakness and want of Health, which hindered him from appearing much abroad in the Day time. The Inscription of his Seal was, *The World is a Cheat*.

We

1 We must now look backwards a little towards the Eastean Parts of the Empire. As soon as *Obeidollah* heard of *Yezid's* Death, he acquainted the *Basorians* with it in a set Speech, wherein he represented, " the near Relation that he had " to them, that the Place of his Nativity was " amongst them, that as appeared by the Books, " he had since his Government over them destroyed an Hundred and Forty Thousand of " their Enemies; that there was no Person left " of any Consideration whom they need to fear; " but what was already in their Prisons; That " they were every way the most considerable " Nation in the Empire, both with regard to " their Courage, Number and Extent of Country; that they were very well able to subsist " independent on any help, but that the rest of " the Provinces were not able to subsist without them: That there was a Faction in " *Syria*, and till that was appeased, he thought " it adviseable for them to chuse a Person duly " qualified to be the Protector of their State: " That after that was done, if the *Muslemans* " agreed upon a Successor that they approved it " would be well; if otherwise, they might continue as they were, till they did." The *Basorians* approved of his Proposal, and told him, that they knew no Person so well qualified for such a Trust as himself: He refused it several

Moawiyah II.
An. Heg. 64.
cæpit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

2 MS. *Laud.* Numb. 161. A.

Moawiyah II.
An. Heg. 64.
cæpit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

times, affectedly as may be supposed by his Speech, but accepted it at last, overcome by their Importunity: So they gave him their Hands to be subject to him till all things were settled, and the *Muslemans* were agreed upon an *Imàm* or *Chaliph*. This done he sent a Messenger to the *Cusians*, to persuade them to follow the Example of the *Basorians*: The *Cusians* received the Message with Indignation, and were so far from complying with it, that they flung Dust upon their Governour. Though the *Cusians* did not follow the Example of the *Basorians*, yet the *Basorians* followed theirs; for perceiving the Repulse he met with at *Cusab*, they revoked their Subjection to him; and the Faction ran so high, that finding *Basorab* too warm for him, he made the best of his way into *Syria*.

There was at that time in the Treasury of *Basorab* sixteen Millions of Money, part of which he divided among his Relations; the Remainder he carried along with him: He would have persuaded the *Najári*, which are a Tribe of the *Arabian Ansars*, to have fought for him, but they refused it, as did also all his own Relations; for he had rendered himself so obnoxious by his Cruelty, that he was dreaded and abhorred by all, beloved by none. His Brother *Abdollah* told the *Basorians*, that since they had promised their Subjection, he and his Brother *Obeidollah* would not fly away from them, but stay

stay and be killed, and leave it as a reproach upon them till the Day of Judgment. *Obeidollah* lay concealed in Women's Cloaths in *Mesoud's* House, who advised him to scatter Money liberally among the People, and oblige them to renew their Oath: *Abdollah* his Brother tryed his utmost with Two hundred thousand Pieces, and *Mesoud* stirred for him as much as he was able, till at last he was killed in the Tumult, though upon an old Grudge. *Obeidollah* was at last constrained to fly, and as soon as he was gone, they plundered his Effects, and pursued him. He had an hundred Men with him, that were left him by *Mesoud*. In the Night time he grew weary of Riding upon his Camel, and exchanged it for an Ass. One of his Friends observing him riding in that manner with his Feet dangling down to the Ground, began to reflect upon the Uncertainty of Human Affairs, and say to himself, This Man was Yesterday Governour of *Irak*, and is now forced to make his Escape upon an Ass: Then riding up to him (for he had been silent a long time) he asked him if he was asleep, he said No, he was talking to himself; the other told him, he knew what it was that he talked to himself; and that was, *I wish I had not killed Hosein*. *Obeidollah* told him he was mistaken, for he chose rather to kill *Hosein*, than to be killed by him: Then having first men-

Moawiyah II.
An. Heg. 64.
capit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

Moawiyah II.
An Heg. 64.
cæpit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

tioned some part of his Substance, and how he intended to dispose of it, he said, what he was sorry for, and what he was speaking to himself was, that he wished he had fought the *Basorians* at the beginning of their Revolt, and struck their Heads off for their Perjury: But if he had attempted it, he might have lost his own, for the *Caregites*, who were his mortal Enemies, were got to a great head, and resolved either to kill him, or to drive him from *Basorah*.

We leave him therefore riding upon his As, and talking to himself, and return to *Hosein*, who was come back much about this time from the Siege of *Meccah* to *Damascus*: He gave an account in what Posture he had left Matters on that side of the Country, and how he had professed his Allegiance to *Abdollah*, who had refused to accept it, at least to come into *Syria*; he told *Merwan*, and the rest of the Family of *Ommiyah*, that they would do well to look about them in time, their Affairs being at this time in a confused perplexed Condition; that they ought to settle the Government, before Faction, which is both deaf and blind, should overwhelm them: *Merwan* was for submitting to *Abdollah*, but *Obeidollah* told him, that it was a shame for a Person of his Distinction, who was the head of the noble Family of the *Coreish*, to think of any thing so mean. The People of
Da-

Damascus had constituted *Dehàc*, the Son of *Kais*, their Protector, till the *Muslemans* should be agreed upon an *Imàm* : *Dehàc* favoured *Abdollah*, and *Hassan* the Son of *Malec* was in that part of *Palestine* that lay near *Jordan*, and was of the Party of the House of *Ommiyah*. The *Basorians* were altogether in Tumult and Confusion, and could not agree about a Governour, during the *interegnum* ; they set up first one, and then another, till at last they wrote to *Abdollah*, to take the Government upon him.

Moawiyah II.
An. Heg. 64.
cœpit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

ABDOLL-

ABDOLLAH,

The Son of ZOBEIR,

*(The Ninth from MAHOMET;) he was
not of the House of Ommiyah.*

Abdollah.
An. Heg. 64.
cæpit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

THERE being two *Caliphs* at the same time time will of necessity occasion the Repetition of a few Circumstances, which will give no Offence to an ingenious Reader. Though *Abdollah* was proclaimed before in the Days of *Yezid*, yet this is the Place that our *Arabian* Authors assign him in their Histories, because he seemed now to be fully settled and established, all the Territories of the *Muslemans* being entirely under his Command, *Syria* only excepted; But whenever we speak of the entire Subjection of the *Mahometan* Countries, we must not be understood of the Hereticks and Schismatics, the *Caregites* and *Motázeli*, for they, as we have observed already, would never be Subject to any; but upon the least Prospect of a favourable Opportunity, used their utmost Efforts to break from off their Necks the Yoke of all Government whatsoever.

As

As soon as *Yezid* was dead, the People of *Meccah* stood up for *Abdollah*, the Son of *Zobeir* : *Merwan* the Son of *Hakem* (who was of the House of *Ommiyah*) was then at *Medinah*, and was preparing himself to go to *Abdollah*, and acknowledge him ; for all took it for granted that his Interest was so powerful, that it would be to no purpose to oppose him ; when on a sudden there was a Report spread, that *Abdollah* had sent word to his Deputy in *Medinah*, to leave never a Man alive there of the House of *Ommiyah* : Instead of which, if he had gone along with *Hosein*, as he would have persuaded him, or had he caressed *Merwan* and the House of *Ommiyah*, he had been immoveably fixed in the Government. *But there is no reversing what God hath decreed.* When they Proclaimed him at *Meccah*, *Obeidollah* was at *Basorah*, from whence he fled into *Syria*, as we have seen before : The *Basorians*, *Irakians*, *Hejazians*, *Yemانيين* and *Ægyptians*, all came in to *Abdollah* ; besides he had a strong private Party even in *Syria* it self, and in *Kinnisrin* and *Hems* : In short, they were very near coming in universally, but he wanted some Qualifications necessary for such a Juncture : He was brave and courageous enough, and exemplarily Religious, but he wanted both Capacity and Generosity.

Abdollah.
An. Heg. 64.
cæpit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

*The Fourth Chaliph of the House of
Ommiyah; (Being the Tenth from
MAHOMET.)*

M E R W A N,

The Son of HAKEM.

Merwàn I.
An. Heg. 64.
capit Aug. 29.
A. C. 683.

UPON this Rumour of *Abdollah's* thus severely threatening the House of *Ommiyah*, *Merwàn* made haste into *Syria*, where his Friends came about him, and, resolved to stand upon their own Defence, Proclaimed him *Chaliph*; so that *Syria* was divided into two Factions: *Hassan* and the *Yemanyans* in *Syria* stood for *Merwàn*, and *Dehàc* the Son of *Kais* for *Abdollah*: This *Dehàc* was a Man of great Note; he had been at the first Siege of *Damascus*, and in the Fifty fourth Year *Moawiyah* made him his Deputy over *Cufah*; And because the General's Father's Name was *Kais*, the Party that followed him were called the *Kaifians*: There were a great many Parleys between them, which it would be too tedious to relate; at last they brought it to a decisive Battel in the Plains or Meadows of *Damascus*; the Issue was, that the
Kai-

Kaisians were most shamefully beaten, and *Dehàc* himself killed, and there was made a great slaughter amongst the Horse, When the *Kaisians* were routed, *Merwàn* sounded a Retreat, and would not suffer his Men to pursue. There were killed with *Dehàc* no less than Fourscore of the Nobles of *Syria*. When *Dehac's* Head was brought to *Merwàn*, he expressed some concern and said, That I who am an old Man, whose Bones are wasted, and am next to nothing, should bring Armies together to break one another in Pieces !

Merwàn I.
An. Heg. 64.
cæpit Aug. 29.
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He then went into *Damascus*, and took up his Lodgings at the House where *Moarwiyah* used to reside; and there he married *Yezid's* Widow, because it was agreed that *Merwàn* should not transfer the Government to his own Posterity, but leave it to *Yezid's* Son *Caled*, who was then a Minor, and of whom the People had some Expectation : Wherefore his Friends thought it more secure for him to marry *Caled's* Mother, and take upon him the Guardianship of the Child, than run the Risque of standing upon the sole Foundation of his own Interest.

When the News of the Defeat of the *Kaisians* and the Death of *Dehàc* came to *Emessa*, which was under the Command of *Nóoman* the Son of *Bashir*, he fled away with his Wife and Family ; but the *Emessians* pursued him, cut off his Head,

Merwân I. Head, and brought it together with his Wife
 An. Heg. 64. and Family to *Emessa*.
 capit Aug. 29.
 A. C. 683.

Merwân after this marched towards *Ægypt*, and sent before him *Amrou* the Son of *Saëd*, who going into *Ægypt* turned out *Abdollah's* Lieutenant, and brought the *Ægyptians* to own *Merwân* for their Sovereign: As he was upon his Return towards *Damascus*, News was brought him that *Abdollah* had sent his Brother *Mus'ab* against him with an Army; wherefore he turned back and routed *Mus'ab* before he entered into *Damascus*.

This Year the People of *Chorasan* chose *Salem* the Son of *Ziyâd*, who was their Governour before, for their Protector, till the *Muslemans* should be agreed in the Choice of an *Imâm*; he continued in that Post about two Months: The People of the Country never had any Governour that they loved so well; they respected him to that Degree, that in those few Years that he governed them, there were more than twenty Thousand Children named *Salem* purely out of Love to his Name.

This Year the Sect of *Ali* began to stir in *Cufah*, in order to rendezvous in *Nochailah* in the next Year following, that they might march into *Syria* to revenge the Death of *Hosein*, and sent circular Letters to their Friends round about the Country concerning it: The Occasion

was

was this; When the *Cufians* after *Hosein* was killed came to reflect coolly upon that Matter, their Consciences accused them of not having dealt with him so generously as they were obliged both in Honour and Duty, and they thought there could be no Attonement made for such a Crime but the taking up Arms to revenge his Death: They therefore applied themselves to five leading Men of the Sect, *Solyman* the Son of *Sorad* who was one of the *Companions*; and *Mosabbib* the Son of *Nabbab*, one of the choicest Friends of *Ali*: *Abdollah* the Son of *Said*; *Abdollah* the Son of *Wali*; and *Repbaab* the Son of *Shadad*. These all met together in *Solyman's* House, besides a great many others of the chief Men of the Sect, to whom *Mosabbib* made a Speech wherein he aggravated the Heinousness of their Neglect “ in having deserted *Hosein* “ after so solemn an Invitation, and having received so many Letters and Messages from “ him; that they had neither assisted him with “ their Hands, nor spoke for him with their “ Tongues, nor supported him with their Money, nor looked out for any Assistance for “ him. What Excuse must they have when “ they should come to appear before God, or “ how should they be able to look his Prophet “ in the Face, when by their Means his ⁴ Son

Merwân I.
An. Heg. 64.
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⁴ Grandson, as before.

Merwân I. " was killed, and his beloved and his Offspring
 An. Heg. 64. " and his Posterity cut off! That there was no
capit Aug. 29. " way to attone for this but by revenging his
A.C. 683. " Death upon his Murderers, which was no
 " hard Matter, provided they chose a proper
 " General, one that the People would be wil-
 " ling to fight under." This was seconded by
Rephaâb, who added, that as to a General, his
 Opinion was, that they should chuse the chief
 of the Sect, a Person revered by all for his
 Years, Dignity, Piety and Experience, *Solyman*
 the Son of *Sorâd*. *Solyman* having first made a
 Speech suitable to the Occasion, accepted the
 Command; and when some other Persons arose
 and made Speeches to urge on the Matter (for
 there were above an Hundred of the chief Men
 amongst them) he told them, that there was
 enough said already, and the next Step they
 ought to take should be to put what each of
 them designed to contribute into the Hands of
Abdollah the Son of *Wali*, to be distributed a-
 mong the poorest of the Sect. The Contents of
Solyman's circular Letter were as followeth.

In the Name of the most Merciful God.

FROM *Solyman the Son of Sorad to Saëd the
 Son of Hodaiphah and whosoever is with him
 of the Muslemans; Peace be to you. The present
 World is a Mansion upon which every Thing that*
 is

is good turneth its Back, and to which every Thing that is bad draweth near, (or turneth its Face;) and treateth Persons of uprightness ill. The chosen Servants of God have resolved to leave it, and to sell the little of the present World that remaineth not, for the great Reward that is with God and shall never fail. The Friends of God, your Brethren of the Sect of the Family of your Prophet, have considered with themselves the Tryal they have undergone in the Business of the Son of the Daughter of your Prophet, who was called and answered, and called and was not answered; and would have returned but was detained; and asked for Security but was hindered; and he let the People alone but they would not let him alone, but dealt injuriously by him and killed him, and then spoiled him and stripped him wickedly, despightfully and foolishly. Nor did they act as in the Sight of God, neither had they recourse to God, * and they that have done Evil shall know what shall be the End of their Actions. Now what your Brethren have seriously considered concerning the Events of what they were engaged in before is this. They see they have sinned in deceiving the innocent, the good; and in the delivering him up, and the omitting the healing and helping him. A great Sin! from which there is no Way left for them to escape, nor any Repentance without killing

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An. Heg. 64.
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* Alcoran passim.

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those that killed him, or being killed themselves and resigning their Spirits upon this account. Now therefore your Brethren are bestirring themselves in Earnest, and your Enemy; therefore do you get together all the Assistance you are able: And we have fixed a certain Time for our Brethren to meet us at a Place appointed. The Time is the New Moon of the Month of the latter Rebiyah, in the sixty fifth Year, and the Place where they shall meet us is Nocháilah; O ye who never cease to be of our Sect and our Brethren! And we determined to invite you to this Business which God would have your Brethren undertake, as they say, and they show to us that they repent, and that you are Persons duly qualified for the Search of Excellency, and the laying hold of the Reward and Repentance towards your Lord from your Sin, though it be the cutting off your Necks, and the killing your Children, and the Consumption of your Wealth, and the Destruction of your Tribes and Families. ⁴ He [God] hath not hurt the courageous religious Men that were killed, but they are now alive with their Lord, sustained as Martyrs, they met their Lord enduring (Affliction) patiently; they are made account of, and God hath given them the Reward of good Men. ⁵ — If it please God, persevere patiently in Tri-

⁴ It is a Saying of Mahomet's. ⁵ The next Sentence is much to the same Purpose, but it is obscurely represented in the Manuscript, and I have not yet found it in the *Alcoran*.

bulation and Affliction and the Day of Battel (God have Mercy upon you!) *for it is not fit that any of your Brethren should persevere in any Affliction in seeking his Repentance, but you are worthy and fit to seek the like Reward by the same Means; neither is it fit that any one should seek the Favour of God by any Means, though it were Death it self, but you should seek it by the same Means.* ³ *For the best Voyage Provision is the fear of God in this World, and every Thing besides shall perish and vanish away. Wherefore let your Souls be assured of this, and your Desire be fixed upon the Mansion of your Safety, and the engaging in the Holy War against the Enemy of God and your Enemy; and the Enemy of the Family of the Daughter of your Prophet, till you come before God with Repentance and Desire. God preserve both us and you to the happy Life, and remove both us and you from Hell, and grant it may be our Reward to dye by the Hands of that part of Mankind that is the most odious of all to him, and are his most vehement Enemies. He is the most Powerful over what he pleases, and disposeth of his Friends according to his Will. Farewel to you.*

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⁴ *Saïd read the Letter to all the People, who readily gave their Assent, and dispatched a very encouraging Answer to Solyman and his Friends.*

³ *Alcoran.* ⁴ *MS. Laud. Num. 161. A.*

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The truth of the Matter is, that the Sect of *Ali* had been contriving this Affair from the time of *Hosein's* death till the death of *Yezid* the Son of *Moawiyah*, (which was Three Years, Two Months, and Four Days) and had sent privately to one another, and laid up Magazines, and strengthened their Party.

Six Months after *Yezid's* death, in the midst of the Month *Ramadân*, *Almoktar* came to *Cusab*, and along with him came *Ibrahim*, the Son of *Mahomet* the Son of *Telha*, to take care of the Tribute of *Cusab* on the side of *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*: The Sect of (*Ali*) readily joined themselves to this Captain *Almoktar*, who made use of the Authority of ⁷ *Mohammed*, the Son of *Haniphiyah*, who was *Ali's* Son, and the Hopes of the Party: He told them he was come to them as a Counsellor and a trusty Assistant from the Son of *Abanisiyah*, which Circumstance, added to their Confidence in his known Abilities, endeared him to them exceedingly. He made it his Business to disparage *Solyman*, the Son of *Sôrad*, as a Person by no means qualified for the Trust he had undertaken, but one that would most certainly destroy both them and himself, having no manner of Experience in warlike Affairs: *Abdollah*, the Son of *Yezid*, was then Governour

⁷ See the Catalogue of *Ali's* Children at the end of his Life.

of *Cufab*, and having received Information that the Sect had a Design to seize the City, he called a Congregation “ and told them that these “ People pretended indeed to seek Revenge for “ *Hofein*’s death, but he could not easily be induced to believe that that was the bottom of “ their Intention ; That for his own part they “ had no Reason to fight against him who was “ no manner of way concerned in the Matter ; “ but had been a Sufferer upon that Account : “ That if they would in good earnest follow “ those up close who were guilty of the Death “ of *Hofein*, he should be willing to assist them.” Then turning to the People he said : “ In short “ it was the Son of *Ziyàd* that killed *Hofein*, “ and that killed the most valuable Men amongst “ you ; and the best thing you can do is to make “ Preparation of War against him, who is the “ greatest Enemy you have in the whole Creation, rather than exercise your Force upon “ one another, and shed each others Blood.” *Ibrahim* the Collector rose up and bad the People not be deceived with his smooth Specches, and declared, that if any of them rose up in Arms they should be put to death both Father and Son without distinction. As he was proceeding, *Mosabbib* cut him off short, and asked him, whether he pretended to threaten or terrifie them ? That it was more than lay in his

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power ; we have, says he, already killed your Father and Grandfather, and we hope, before you go out of this Country, you shall be the third. *Ibrahim* threatened him with Death, when *Abdollah* the Son of *Wali* stood up, and asked *Ibrahim* what Business he had to intermeddle between them and their Governour, telling him that he had no manner of Authority over them, but he might get him about his Business, and look after his Tax. The Sect were wonderfully pleased with *Abdollah* the Son of *Yezid's* Speech, and the People very much offended at *Ibrahim's* Behaviour ; there were high Words on both sides till *Abdollah* the Governour came down ; he, being informed that *Ibrahim* had threatened to write to *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, and acquaint him with the Contents of his smooth Speech to the *Cusians*, made haste to pay him a Visit, and swore that he meant nothing by it but only to appease the People, and keep the Peace to prevent their doing any further mischief ; with which Excuse *Ibrahim* was very well satisfied. And now *Solyman* and his Party pulled off the Mask, and appeared barefaced openly in Arms.

At this time the Separists, who had before joined *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, and assisted him whilst he was besieged in *Meccah*, deserted him. The Case was thus : *Obeidollah*, when

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Governour at *Basorah*, had been always their implacable Enemy, and exerted his utmost to extirpate the whole Generation of them Root and Branch from off the Face of the Earth; distressed by his unmerciful Persecution they took the Opportunity, when *Abdollah*, the Son of *Zobeir*, first made his Appearance at *Meccah*, of applying themselves to him; he, as Matters then stood with him, was no less glad of their Assistance than they were of his Protection, and embraced them without any Scrutiny about Principles, or asking any Questions for Conscience sake: They afterwards began to say to one another, that they had committed an Error in engaging themselves in a Man's Interest whose Principles were dubious; and resolved, before they advanced one step further, to bring him to the Test. They had not forgotten how both he and his Father *Zobeir* had persecuted them upon the Account of *Othman's* Death, and they were resolved to make use of it as a Proof of his being in their Interest, or the contrary: They came to him accordingly in a body, and told him, That hitherto they had assisted him without any previous Examination of his Principles; now, for satisfaction, they desired to know what he thought of *Othman*? He understood them very well, but seeing but few of his Friends about him, he told them, that they were come at an

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unseasonable time, when he had rather be at rest ; if they would defer it a little, and return in the Evening, they should have a satisfactory Answer. In the mean time he gathers together a sufficient number of Guards, and places them in double Ranks round about his House : At last they came, and perceiving how matters stood, and what Preparation *Abdollah* had made for their Reception, did not think fit to come to Blows ; but one of them, a Man of a voluble Tongue, eminent for his Eloquence, made a Speech, wherein he briefly recapitulated the most considerable Dispensations of Providence towards them, and the several Successions of their *Caliphs* since *Mabomet*, concluding with hard Reflections upon *Othman's* Administration, his Partiality in favour of his Relations, and in a word justified his being murdered : *Abdollah* told him, That as to what he had said concerning the Prophet (which was very great) he was not only what he had said, but above it ; and what he had said of *Abubeker* and *Omar* was just enough ; but as for *Othman*, he had more reason to know him than any Man alive ; that he was sure he was murdered wrongfully, and that he never wrote that Letter whereof he had been accused ; and that for his own part, he should be a Friend of *Othman's* both in this World and that to come, and a Friend of his Friends, and an Enemy of his

his Enemies. To this they answered, *God is clear of thee, thou Enemy of God!* which he ecchoed back again, *God is clear of you, ye Enemies of God!* Upon this they parted; but as for *Abdollah*, he could the more easily part with them, because he had already served his turn of them: Some of them went to *Yemamah*, the rest to *Basorah*; those of them that went to *Basorah* began to say among themselves, ⁵ “*Would to God some of our People would go out in the way of God, for there hath been negligence on our side since our Companions went out, and our Teachers stood up in the Earth and were the Lights of Mankind, and exhorted them to Religion, and sober and couragious Men went out and met the Lord, and became Martyrs maintained with God alive.*” Thus they encouraged one another mutually till they had gathered together a Body of about Three Hundred, just about the time that the *Basorians* made an Insurrection against *Obeidollah*, and taking the Advantage of the Hurry of the People they broke open all the Jayls; but when *Obeidollah* was gone into *Syria*, and all the Disturbance was over, they were soon routed and driven away from *Basorah*.

So many things being transacted in several Parts of the Empire much about the same time, it was necessary to dispatch these first, to clear

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⁵ MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

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the Way for ⁶ *Moktar*, that great and terrible scourge of the Enemies of *Ali*'s Family; and because he makes so considerable a figure in this part of our History, it will be necessary to be a little more particular in the Account of his Affairs. The Sect of *Ali* had entertained no very favourable Opinion of him ever since the time of *Hasan* in whose Service he was reckoned to be too remiss; but he recovered his esteem with them when *Hosein* sent *Muslim* to *Cusab* to take the Suffrages of the *Cusians*, for he not only entertained him in his House, but made use of all his Interest privately to serve him; still making his Appearance in publick against *Obeidollah*'s Men, to prevent Suspicion. Going one Morning to wait upon *Obeidollah*, *Obeidollah* asked him whether he was come with his Men to serve *Muslim*? *Moktar* said that he was not, but had been under the Banner of *Amrou* the Son of *Horith*, and staid with him all Night, which *Amrou* confirmed; but this not satisfying *Obeidollah*, who had good Intelligence of his secret Practices, he struck him over the Face with his Stick, and dashed one of his Eyes all to pieces, and sent him immediately to Prison, where he was detained till after *Hosein*'s Death; at which time finding means to make proper Application to *Yezid* the *Caliph*, he was set at liberty by his

⁶ *Theophanes* calls him Μοχταρ.

express command: *Obeidollah* knew that it was his Interest not to let him go, but was forced to obey the *Caliph*, and told *Almoktar* that he allowed him Three Days, after which if he took him he was under no Obligation.

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Moktar made the best of his way to that part of *Arabia* called *Hejaz* (which is generally taken by our Geographers to be *Arabia Petraea*) and meeting with a Friend, who asked him what his Eye ailed, he answered, The Son of a Whore made it so; but God kill me if I do not cut him all to pieces. His Friend wondered what he meant, there being no Probability of its ever being in his power, and *Mochtar* enquired of him concerning *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*. He answered him, That he had made *Meccah* the Place of his Refuge; to which *Mochtar* answered, I do not believe that he can make any thing of it, but when you see it come to pass, when you see *Mochtar* up at the Head of his Men to revenge the Death of *Hosein*, then, by thy Lord, I will kill, upon the account of his Murder, as many as were killed upon the account of the Blood of *John* the Son of *Zacharias*, upon whom be Peace.

For the clearing of which Passage it must be understood, that the *Mahometans* entertain a profound Veneration for the Memory of *St. John Baptist*, upon the account of the honourable
mention

Merwân I.
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mention made of him in the third Chapter of the *Alcoran*, in these words, ⁶ *Then prayed Zachariah to his Lord, and said, My Lord, give me from thee a good Progeny, for thou art the hearer of Prayers: And the Angels called to him as he stood praying in the Oratory, God sends thee the good News of John, who shall confirm the truth of the Word from God, and shall be a great Person, Chast, a Prophet, and one of the Just, or rather, and one of the just Prophets.*

⁷ Which *Hosein Waês* Paraphrases in these Words. “*John the Baptist, your Son, shall publish and give Authority to the Faith in the Messias Jesus the Son of Mary, who is the Word of God, or the Word proceeding from God; for he shall be the first who shall believe in him. He shall become Chief and High-Priest by his Knowledge, by the Austerity of his Life, and by the Sweetness of his Behaviour, which are Three Qualities requisite to make a Person an Imâm or High-Priest of the Law of God. He shall abstain from having any thing to do with Women, and from all the Pleasures of Sense, and, in short, he shall be a Prophet descended from good Men such as his Father Zachariah and his Grandfather Saleh had been before him, teaching Men the Ways of Justice and Salvation.*”

⁶ *Alcoran. Chap. 3. Verse 33.* ⁷ *D'Herbelot, in Jahia.*

They have a Tradition of St. *John Baptist* having been beheaded by the Command of a King of *Judæa*, the Blood which flowed from his Body could not be stanch'd till it was avenged by a very great Desolation which God sent upon the People of the *Jews*; and this is what was meant by *Almochtart*.

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When they parted, *Almochtart* went to *Meccab* just at that time when *Abdollah* began to set up himself for the *Caliphate*, and told him that all things about *Cusab* were in the utmost confusion; then, whispering him, he said that he was come to proffer him his Allegiance, if he would make him easie. I do not find what Answer he received, nor whether or no he received any at all:² From that time he was seen no more at *Meccab* till about a Twelve-month after, when, as *Abbàs* the Son of *Sabel* and *Abdollah* happened to be talking concerning him he appeared on one side of the Temple: *Abbas* followed him, to find out which way he stood inclined, and asked him if he had been all that while in *Thayef*, (for he had seen him there himself) he told him in *Thayef* and in other Places, but seem'd to make a Secret of his Business; *Abbas* told him that he was very private, according to the Custom of the *Cusians*; that all the noble Families of the *Arabians* had sent some

² MS. *Laud*, Num. 161. A.

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great Man or other to offer their Allegiance to *Abdollah*, and that it would be very strange if he should be singular and refuse it: *Almóchtar* answered, that he came about it the Year before, but receiving no satisfactory Answer, it looked as if *Abdollah* had no Occasion for his Service; and since he found himself slighted he thought *Abdollah* had more Occasion for him than he had for *Abdollah*: At last *Abbas* prevailed upon him so far that he said he would do it after he had said the last Evening Prayer: They appointed to meet at the Stone, and *Abbas* in the mean time rejoiced the Heart of *Abdollah* with the News. When they were admitted into *Abdollah's* House, *Almochtar* told him, that he expected if he gave him his Allegiance to have Access to him upon all Occasions before any other Person, and that he should make use of him in his most weighty Affairs; *Abdollah* would have had him been content with being governed, according to the Book of God and the Tradition; *Almochtar* answered, That that was no more privilege than what the farthest Man alive enjoyed, and that he would never come in upon any other Terms than what he had proposed; *Abdollah's* Affairs being as yet in an unsettled Condition it was thought most advisable to indulge him in his Humour; so he continued with *Abdollah* during the Siege of *Meccah* and fought

fought bravely in the Defence of it; till, as we have related before, upon the News of *Yezid's* Death the Siege was raised, and the Army returned into *Syria*.

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Almochtar continued with *Abdollah* five Months and some Days after the Death of *Yezid*, but perceiving that *Abdollah* was still shy of him, and did not employ him in any considerable Post, nor make any great use of him in his Counsels, he always was very diligent in enquiring after the Condition of the *Cusians*, and *Ali's* Friends on that side of the Country; at last one informed him, that there was only a Party supported by some Provincialists that were in the Interest of *Abdollah*; and as for the Friends of *Ali's* Family, they wanted nothing but a Man of their own Opinion, to head them in order to consume the whole Earth. *Almochtar* swore that he was their Man, and that by their Assistance he would beat down ¹ *all haughty Tyrants*. The other told him, that for his further Satisfaction, that he might not be deceived, they had gone so far already as to set one over them, but a Person of small Experience; *Almochtar* said, he did not intend to call them to *Sedition*, but to the right way, *and to the Church*, and forthwith set forth for *Cusab*. All the way he went, he made it his business to

¹ It is an Expression used in the *Alcoran*.

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pay his Respects to the Congregations of the several Mosques, and say his Prayers among them, and harangue them, assuring them of Success and Victory, and a speedy Deliverance from all their Grievances: When he came to *Cusab* he called the Sect together, and told them that he was come "from the ⁸ Mine of Excellency, the *Imàm* that directs the right way; " who commanded Medicines to be applied, and " the Veil to be removed, and the Perfection of " gracious Works, and the killing of their Enemies. He then represented to them the Incapacity of *Solyman* for such an Undertaking, as being " altogether unexperienced in War, and one that " would only destroy both them and himself:" This he inculcated so frequently, that he persuaded a great many of the Sect into his Interest, who began every Day to favour him more and more in their common Discourse, and magnify his Merit, and promise themselves great things from him. But notwithstanding all this, *Solyman's* Interest was still Superior to any amongst the Sect, as being the most Ancient, and of the greatest Authority: He was resolved to go forwards according to his Appointment, with what Forces he had, expecting to be joined by a great Army of the Sect at *Nochàilab*. *Almochtar*

* That was *Mohammed Ebn Haniphiyah*, *Ali's* Son, then Resident at *Meccah*.

staid

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staid behind, waiting for an account of *Solyman's* Success, not doubting in the least, but that if he should miscarry the sole Command of the Sect would fall inevitably into his Hands, He was suspected of having a secret Design of seizing the Province, upon which account some of *Solyman's* Party surrounded his House, and having surprized him, would have persuaded the Governour to have bound him, and made him walk Barefoot to Prison: The Governour answered, that he would never do so to a Man that had not declared himself an Enemy, but was only taken up upon Suspicion. Then they would have had him put in Irons, but the Governour answered, that the Prison was restraint enough; whither he was conveyed upon a Mule, and where for a while we must leave him.

We return now to *Solyman* and his *Penitents*, for so they were called that confederated under him to revenge the Death of *Hosein*, because of their Sorrow for their former Neglect of him in his Extremity. They set out according to their Agreement to meet at their general Rendezvous at *Nocháíláb*, a Place not very far distant from *Cusab* in the New Moon of the latter *Rebiyah*. When he came there and had taken a View of the Camp, he was very much concerned at the smallness of the Number, and dispatched two Horsemen Post to *Cusab*, with Orders to cry round

Merwân I. about the Streets and in the great Mosque, *Vengeance for Hosein*; this alarmed the People, and amongst the rest there was an *Arabian* married to the greatest Beauty of her Time whom he doated upon to an Excess: As soon as he heard that Proclamation he neither answered them one Word, nor went out to them, but put on his Cloaths in great Haste and called for his Arms and his Horse. His Wife asked him if he was possessed, he answered, *By God no! but I have heard God's Herald calling for Revenge for the Blood of that Man [Hosein] and I will answer him, and I will die for him, or God shall dispose of me as he pleases.* To whom, said she, do you leave this Child of yours? *To God*, said he, *who hath no Partner: O God! I commend to thee my Family and my Child! O God preserve me in them.* This said, he followed them, and left her to bewail him.

³ Those that were gathered together in the Street went to the great Mosque, where they found a great many People after the last Evening Prayer, and repeating the same Cry, another, a Person of Distinction, armed himself and called for his Horse; his Daughter asking him the Reason of it, he answered, *Child thy Father flies from his Sin to his God!* Then calling his nearest Relations together he took his Leave,

³MS. Laud. Num. 161. A.

and arrived at *Solyman's* Camp the next Morning. They next looked over the Rolls to see how many had given their Hands at first, and found them sixteen Thousand, whereof there were not above four Thousand present: One said that *Almochtar* had drawn off two Thousand; so that according to that Account there still remained ten Thousand guilty of Perjury. At last *Mosabbib* told *Solyman*, that they who did not come out of an hearty Intent would do him no Service. *Solyman* and several others of the chief Men made Speeches to that small Handful they had, telling them, That it was not this World they fought for, that they had neither Silver nor Gold, but were going to expose themselves to the Edges of Swords and the Points of Spears. To which the People answered all around, It is not this World that we seek, neither did we come out for the Sake of it. Then they deliberated about the most proper Method of carrying on their Design; one proposed the marching directly into *Syria* to be revenged on *Obeidollah*; another would have them go and destroy all that had a hand in his Death at *Cufab*, where there were a great many of the Chiefs of the Tribes and several other leading Men. *Solyman* did by no means approve of this last Advice, but said, That they ought to take Vengeance upon that individual Person that had

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Merwân I.
An. Heg. 65.
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beset him with armed Men, and said to him, you shall have no Protection from me, unless you surrender your self entirely to my Disposal; ⁷ that wicked Wretch, the Son of that wicked Wretch is your Object! Besides he did not think it proper by any means to begin a Massacre in their own Province, which would alienate their Friends and exasperate the People to see their Fathers and Brethren and near Relations murdered before their Faces; wherefore he advised them to leave that Matter to be considered afterwards, if it should please God to grant them a safe Return out of Syria.

In the mean time *Ibrahim*, (who, as we have mentioned before, was sent from *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir* to gather the Tribute) and *Abdollah* the Son of *Yezid*, the Governour of *Cusab*, being informed of *Solyman's* Expedition, entertained some thoughts of joyning Forces with him: They conceived it was both plausible and practicable enough to secure themselves in that part of the Country, under the pretence of revenging the Death of *Hosein*; besides that *Obeidollah's* Cruelty had raised the greatest Aversion against him imaginable, in all the Provinces that had been under his jurisdiction. They went both to *Solyman*, and persuaded him to stay till they could raise Forces to assist him, or else to

⁷ That is, *Obeidollah* the Son of *Ziyâd*.

abide where he was, till *Obeidolláb* should come within their Bounds, which they had very good Reason to think would not be long, after the Alarm was taken in *Syria*. This not prevailing, *Ibrahim* would have persuaded him at least to stay till he could furnish him with some Money (no less than the Tribute of the whole Province,) The Answer to this last Proposal was, that *their going out was not for this World*. Thus the Conference broke off, and *Solyman* continued his March into *Syria*, and *Ibrahim* and the Son of *Yezid* returned back to *Cusab*.

Merwán I.
An.Heg. 65.
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Obeidollab was not idle all this while, but was upon his March towards them. *Solyman's* Men perceiving that their Friends of *Madayen* and *Basorah* did not join them according to Promise began to murmur: And notwithstanding his Endeavours to pacify them, they deserted; so that when he Mustered them at *Eksàs*, upon the Banks of the *Euphrates*, there were a Thousand of them wanting: *Solyman* said to the rest, It is a good Riddance; for if they had staid they would have been only a Burthen to you; *The Lord did not approve of their going out, and therefore he hath withdrawn them, and held them back for the better, wherefore praise ye your Lord.*

Marching all Night they came the next Morning to *Hosein's* burying Place, where they staid a Night and a Day, which they spent in praying

Merwān I.
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for him, and begging his Pardon. When they first came to his Tomb, they all cried out with one Voice, and wept, and wished that they had been Partners with him in his Death: There never was seen a greater Day of Weeping than that. *Solyman* said, *O God! be merciful to Hosein the Martyr, the Son of the Martyr; The Guide, the Son of the Guide; the Righteous, the Son of the Righteous! O God! we call thee to Witness, that we are in their Profession of Religion, and in their way, and that we are Enemies of those that killed them, and Friends of those loved them.* Another Account (not contradictory to the former) says, that when they drew near to *Hosein's* Tomb they cried out unanimously, *O Lord! we have deceived the Son of the Daughter of our Prophet; forgive us what is past, and repent towards us, for thou art the Repenter, the Merciful! Have Mercy upon Hosein and his Followers, the righteous Martyrs! And we call thee to Witness, O Lord! that we are the very same sort of Men with those that were killed for his sake, and if thou dost not forgive him to us we must be sufferers.* They did not move till the Morning after, but continued bewailing him and his Friends at his Sepulchre, the sight of which renewed their Sorrow. Nay when *Solyman* commanded them to march, there was never a Man of them would stir till he had first stood over *Hosein's* Tomb, and

and begged his Pardon : One that was present there swears that he never saw such crowding and pressing about the *Black Stone*. From thence they marched to *Hesáfah*, from *Hesáfah* to *Alámbar*, from *Alámbar* to *Sodûd*, and from *Sodûd* to *Kayyàrah*.

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Whilst they were at *Kayyàrah*, *Abdollah* the Son of *Yézid*, the Governour of *Cufah*, sent them a Friendly Letter, admonishing them of the desperateness of their Undertaking, in encountering such a Multitude as they must expect to meet, with such an handful ; assuring them of his being in the same Interest with them, and desiring them to return : He concluded thus, “ Do not
“ set at nought my Advice, nor contradict my
“ Command ; come as soon as my Letter is
“ read to you : God turn your Faces towards
“ his Obedience, and your Backs to the rebell-
“ ing against him.” When the Letter was read, and the People had asked *Solyman*’s Advice, he told them that he saw no reason for going back, that they were never like to be nearer the two
² *Hosein*’s than now, and that the meaning of their persuading them to return was, that they might assist *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, which he reckoned to be Erroneous ; but if they died

¹ *Arab. Amri*. It doth not always signify strictly a Command, because that supposes Superiority, but any thing that one Friend desireth of another. ² *Hasan* and *Hosein*, as we have observed before.

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now, they should die in a state of Repentance from their Sins. At last he came to *Hait*, from whence he wrote an Answer to the Governour of *Cusab*, wherein he gave him Thanks for his kind Letter, but told him that his Men could not accept of his Invitation; that they were true Penitents, and resolved to go forwards and leave the Success to God. The Governour as soon as he received the Letter said, that they were resolved to die, and that would be the next News of them. From *Hait* they went to *Karkisia*, from thence to *Ainwêrdab*. They designed to depose both the *Caliphs*, viz. ² *Abdormelik* the Son of *Merwan*, and *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, and restore the Government to the Family of the Prophet. Not to enter into a long detail of the tedious Particulars of their March and Engagement, in short *Obeidollah* met them with twenty Thousand Men, and cut them all to Pieces.

Not long after, in the Month *Ramadân*, the *Caliph Merwân* died. We must here remem-

² There must be a Mistake here: For this Action was before *Merwan's* Death. See *Elmakîn*. *Solyman* and his Penitents met at *Nochailah* on the new Moon of the latter *Rebiyah*. *Merwân* died in the Month of *Ramadan*; so that unless we can suppose them to have been above five Months in their March, (which would not take them so many Weeks) this Action must have been over before the Death of *Merwân*, therefore instead of *Abdormelick*, I read *Merwân*.

ber, that after *Moawiyah's* Decease *Merwân* was chosen *Chaliph* upon this Condition, that *Caled* the Son of *Yezid* should succeed him, excluding his own Children, and that *Caled* had refused to take the Government upon himself because he was so very young; and that to secure the Succession to *Caled* he married *Yezid's* Widow, who was *Caled's* Mother.

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However afterwards, *Merwân* having altered his Mind, was desirous to have the Succession pass to his own Children exclusive of *Caled*, and accordingly caused his eldest Son *Abdôlmelik* to be proclaimed his lawful and proper Successor.

Caled, who always hated him, came to him one Day, when there were a great many of the Nobility about him in the Garden, and reviled him after the most reproachful manner. This moved the old Man's Choler so that he called him Bastard; *Caled* went and told his Mother all that had passed; the Lady touched to the Quick with this Affront was resolved to be revenged; but said to *Caled*, Child, you must have a care of such Behaviour, for he will never bear it; let me alone, and I will take Care of him for you; *Merwân* coming in soon after asked her if *Caled* had said any thing concerning him; she told him no, he had more Respect for him.

Merwân did not long survive it, some say she poisoned him, others that she laid a Pillow upon his

Merwân I. his Face when he was asleep and sat upon it till
 An. Heg. 65. he was dead, and then told the People that he
cepit Aug. 17.
A. C. 684. died on a sudden.

Some say his Age was Sixty three, others with more Probability Seventy one. He reigned Two Hundred and Ninety eight Days.

He was called *Ebn Tarîd*, *The Son of the Expelled*; because *Mahomet* had banished his Father *Hakem* for divulging a Secret. He continued in his Exile during the Reigns of *Abubeker* and *Omar*, and the recalling him was objected to *Othman* as one of his greatest Crimes, it being reversing the Sentence of the Prophet; though *Othman*, mild and good-natured as he was, thought that since the Cause of his Banishment, and all the bad Effects of it that could possibly happen, were at an end, the Punishment ought to cease also.

*The Fifth Chaliph of the House of
Ommiyah, (being the Eleventh from
MAHOMET.)*

ABDOLMELICK,

The Son of MERWAN.

⁴ **O**N the third Day of the Month *Ramadan* in the sixty fifth Year of the *Hegirah*, *Abdolmélick* the Son of *Merwàn* was inaugurated *Chaliph*, and succeeded his Father in the Government of *Syria* and *Ægypt*: It is reported, that when the News was first brought to him he was sitting with the *Alcoran* in his Lap; whereupon he folded it up and laid it aside, and said, *I must take my Leave of thee now.*

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Abdollah still holding it out against him at *Meccah*, he was not willing the People should go thither on Pilgrimage, and for that Reason sent and enlarged the Temple of *Jerusalem* so as to take the ⁵ Stone into the Body of the Church, and the People began to make their Pilgrimages thither.

⁴ *Abu'lpheda.* ⁵ See Vol. I. at the Siege of *Jerusalem*.
MS. Laud. Numb. 161. A.

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An. Heg. 66.
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All this while *Almochtâr* was making the best Use of his Time in order to compass his Designs : During his Imprisonment he had found Means to keep up his Correspondence with the *Seët* ; Letters were conveyed to him in the lining of a Cap : He was soon informed of *Solyman's* Fate, and thought it a proper Time to exert himself. *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir* being still in Arms at *Meccah* against *Abdolmélick* the new *Chaliph*, *Ibrahim* the Son of *Ashtar* was courted by the *Seët*, who answered, That he would join with them if they would be under his Command ; but they told them that that was impracticable because they were already pre-engaged to *Almochtâr*, who, at a Meeting where *Ibrahim* was present, producing a Letter from *Almobdi* the Son of *Mahomet*, the Son of *Ali*, who was the Head of the *Seët* in a lineal Succession, *Ibrahim* gave him his Hand without any more to do, and *Almochtâr* took upon him the sole Command of the Forces. ⁴ Not only so, but a great many of them inaugurated him *Chaliph* upon these Terms, That he should govern according to the Contents of the Book of God and the Tradition of his Apostle, and destroy the Murderers of *Hoséin* and the Family. The first he attempted to seize was *Shamer*, whom he overcame and killed. The next was

⁴ *Abu'lpheda.*

Caula, who carried *Hosein's* Head to *Obeidollah*, him he besieged in his House, and killed him and burnt him. Afterwards he killed *Amer* who commanded the Army that killed *Hosein*, and gave Orders that the Horse should trample over his Back and Breast; he killed his Son too, and sent both their Heads to *Mohammed ben Hanifiyah*. The *Sect* were afraid lest he should have pardoned *Ali* the Son of *Hathem*, and begged of him to let them kill him; he told them they might dispose of him as they thought fit. They took him and bound him, saying, You stripped the Son of *Ali* before he was dead, and we will strip you alive; and you made a Mark of him, and we will make one of you; then they let fly a Shower of Arrows at him, which stuck so thick over all Parts of his Body that he looked like a Porcupine. In short, *Almochtar* found Means to surprize them whensoever he could get any Information where they were, and destroyed them with variety of Deaths.

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² *Abdalmélick* had about this Time sent an Army against *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir*, who was at *Medinab*; *Almochtar*, who had two such powerful Enemies to deal withal, was resolved to try if he could get rid of one of them first; he endeavoured to overreach *Abdollah* by send-

² MS. *Laud*. Num. 161. A.

Abdolmélick ing an Army pretendedly to his Assistance upon
 An. Heg. 66. the following Occasion.

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Abdolmélick having sent an Army out of *Syria* towards *Irak*, *Almochtâr* was afraid lest they should not only fall upon him on that Side, but that he should at the same time be distressed by *Abdollah's* Brother *Musab*, from *Basorah* on the other. Wherefore he wrote a deceitful Letter to *Abdollah*, wherein he told him, that being informed that *Abdolmélick* the Son of *Merwân* had sent an Army against him, he would willingly come to his Assistance with a competent Force. *Abdollah* answered him, That if he was once assured of the Sincerity of his Allegiance he might come; and in order to give him Satisfaction in that Article he desired him to take the Votes of his Men for him, and when he had received them he should believe him, and not send any more Forces into his Country; and that in the mean time he should send his intended Assistance with all possible Speed against *Abdolmélick's* Army that lay at *Dilkôra*; upon this *Almochtâr* called *Serjabil* the Son of *Wars* to him, and dispatched him with about 3000 Men, most of them Slaves, for there were not above seven Hundred *Arabs* amongst them, and bad him march directly to *Medinah* and write to him from thence for further Orders. *Almochtâr's* Design was, as soon as they came to *Medinah*, to send an *Emir*

to command them, whilst *Serjabil* should go and besiege *Abdollah* in *Meccah*. But *Abdollah*, who had no great Reason to put Confidence in *Almochtar*, did not intend to suffer himself to be surprized, especially since *Almochtar* had not given him the Security he expected ; wherefore he sent *Abbas*, the Son of *Sabel*, from *Meccah* to *Medinah* with two Thousand Men, ordering him, if he found the Army in his Interest to receive them ; if otherwise, to use the best of his Endeavour to destroy them. When *Abbàs* met *Serjabil* he found his Men all in Order of Battel, the Horse all on the Right, and *Serjabil* himself marching before the Foot ; *Abbàs* his Men were in no Order at all. After they had saluted one another, *Abbàs* took *Serjabil* aside, and asked him if he did not own himself to be *Abdollah's* Subject ? To which Question when *Serjabil* had answered in the Affirmative, *Abbàs* bad him march along with him to *Dilkóra* ; *Serjabil* told him, that he had received no such Orders from his Master, but only to march directly to *Medinah* : *Abbàs* told him, that his Master took it for granted that he was come out for no other Purpose but to go to *Dilkóra* ; the other still insisted that his Orders were for *Medinah* : *Abbàs* perceiving how Matters stood with him, concealed his Suspicion of him, and told him he was in the right to obey his Orders, he might

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do as he thought fit, but for his own Part he must go to *Dilkóra*. *Serjabil* and his Men were almost famished for want of Provision in their long March; *Abbas* made *Serjabil* a Present of a fat Sheep which he had by him ready killed, and sent a Sheep to every ten of his Men: The Sharpness of their Hunger soon set them on Work; they left their Order and ran backwards and forwards for Water, and whatsoever else was necessary for the dressing their Victuals: *Abbàs* in the mean time took about a Thousand of his best Men and came up to their Tents: *Serjabil* perceiving what Danger he was in, cried out to his Men to come to his Assistance, but there were scarce an hundred of them got together when *Abbàs* was come up close to him, crying out, O Troop of God! come out and fight with these Confederates of the Devil; you are in the right Way, but they are perjured Villains! They fought but a very little while before *Serjabil* and about Three-score and ten of his Guard were killed; whereupon *Abbàs* held up a Flag of Quarter, which they readily ran to, except three Hundred who were all afterwards put to the Sword. * *Abbàs* let about two Hundred of them go. When *Al-mochtar* heard the News he wrote to *Mohammed* the Son of *Haniphiah*, acquainting him with the Disaster, and proffering him to send a pow-

* MS. Laud. Num. 161. A.

erful Army to his Assistance, if he would please to accept of it: *Mohammed* answered him that he was very well assured of the Sincerity of his Zeal for his Service; that if he had thought fit to make use of Arms, he should not have wanted Assistance; but that he was resolved to bear with Patience, and leave the Event to God, who was the best Judge. When the Messenger that brought *Almochtars* Letter took his leave, *Mohammed* said to him, Bid *Almochtars* fear God, and abstain from shedding Blood: The Messenger asked him if he would not write that to him, *Mohammed* answered, " I have already com-
 " manded him to obey the great and mighty
 " God; and the Obedience of God consists in
 " the doing all that is Good, and the abstaining
 " from all Evil." When *Almochtars* received the Letter he gave it another turn, and said to the People, I am commanded to do that which is just, and reject Infidelity and Perfidiousness.

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This same Year the *Hoseinians* went to *Mec-
 cah*, and performed a Pilgrimage there, under
Abu Abdollah Aljódali, upon this occasion.
 Though *Mohammed* the Son of *Haniphayah*, and
 all the rest of *Ali's* Family, behaved themselves
 very inoffensively at *Meccah*, and were so far
 from making any Disturbance, that they always
 persuaded their Friends to Peace, who were
 ready to hazard their Lives in their Service, yet

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Abdollah easily found by Experience, that it would be impossible for him to succeed so long as they were alive, and refused the Oath of Allegiance. For though they did not stir themselves, they had a very strong Party; and a great many other disaffected Persons made use of the pretence of revenging the Death of *Hosein*. He therefore resolved to make an end of it all at once, and seized *Mohammed* and his Family, and seventeen of the principal *Cusians*, and Imprisoned them in the *Zemzem*, and set a Guard over them, and fixed them a time, in which he threatened them, if they did not come in he would put them to Death, and burn them to Ashes. The *Zemzem* is the Name of a Pit at *Meccah* which the Muslemans say was made out of that Spring which God caused to appear in favour of *Hagar* and *Ismael*, whom *Abraham* had turned out of his House, and obliged to retire into *Arabia*; concerning this Well they relate a great many strange things not proper to be inserted in this place. Here they were shut up, but (says my Author) God whose Name be magnified and glorified, gave to them not to come in, though he should execute all his Threats upon them. Whilst they were in this Condition, they found means to write to *Almochtar* and acquaint him with their Circumstances, desiring also of the *Cusians* not to desert them,

them, as they did *Hosein* and his Family. When he received the Letter, he called the People together, and having read the Letter said, This is from your Guide, and the purest of the Family of the House of your Prophet, upon whom be Peace; they are left shut up like Sheep expecting to be killed and burnt; but ^s I shall give them sufficient Assistance, and send Horse after Horse, as the Streams of Water follow one another. Then he sent *Abu Abdollah Aljó dali* with Threescore and ten Troopers, all Men of approved Valour. After him a second with four Hundred. Then a third with one Hundred. A fourth with one Hundred. A fifth with Forty. And last of all a sixth with forty more. In all, seven Hundred and fifty. These went out at several times one after the other, and *Abu Abdollah* their Chief made a halt by the way, till he was joined by the two Companies, consisting of Forty each, and with this one Hundred and Fifty made haste to the Temple of *Meccah*, crying out Vengeance for *Hosein*. At last they went to the *Zemzem*, where they arrived in very good time, for *Abdollah* had got the Wood ready to burn his Prisoners, and there remained but two Days of the appointed time: They beat off the Guard, and broke open the the *Zemzem*, and begged of *Mohammed* to give them leave to use

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 66.
capit Aug. 7.
A. C. 685.

^s Here the *Arabick* is something obscure.

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 66.
capit Aug. 7.
A.C. 685.

their liberty with the Enemy of God, *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir* ; but *Mohammed* answered that he would not ⁶ allow any fighting in the Sacred Place of the most high God. *Abdollah* said, Do you think I will dismiss them unless they swear to me? nay and you shall swear too. *Abu Abdollah* answered, By the Lord of this Sacred Place thou shalt let them go, or we will cut thee to Pieces. *Abdollah* despising the Smallness of their Number, swore that if he should give his Men leave it would not be an Hour's time before all their Heads were off. *Mohammed* the Son of *Haniphiyah* kept back his Friends, and would not let them fight, and *Abdollah* began to cool, when he saw another Captain come up with one Hundred Men, and a Second with the like Number ; then two Hundred more in a Body with the Money ; who went all to the Temple and cried out *Allah Acbar*, Vengeance for the Death of *Hosein*. When *Abdollah* saw them he was afraid of them. They took him Prisoner, and intreated *Mohammed* to give them leave to dispose of him as they thought fit, but he would not suffer them. The Money which they brought was distributed amongst four Thousand of *Ali's* Friends, and the whole Business through the exceeding Gentleness of *Mohammed's* Temper was amicably compromised.

⁶ It is prohibited in the *Alcoran*, Ch. 2. ver. 187.

Before *Merwan's* Death, *Obeidollah* was sent towards *Cufah* with an Army, and had leave to Plunder it for three Days.⁶ Against him was sent *Yezid* the Son of *Ares*, worthy to be mentioned upon the account of his heroick Courage and Presence of Mind; for when Death appeared in his Face, and he was forced to be held upon his Ass on both sides, he appointed three Generals to command the Army during the Fight successively, if there should be occasion for them. *Obeidollah* never reached so far as *Cufah*; and now in the first Month of the sixty seventh Year, *Almochtâr* found himself at leisure to send his Forces against him: There was one thing very remarkable in his Preparation; he made a Throne, and pretended that there was something mysterious in it, telling the People, *That it was of the same use to them that the Ark was to the Children of Israel*; and accordingly in this Expedition against *Obeidollah*, it was carried upon a Mule on purpose into the Battel: The Prayer that they said at this Ark was, *O God! grant us to live long in thy Obedience, and help us and do not forget us, but protect us.* And the People answered *Amen, Amen.* *Almochtâr's* General was *Ibrahim* the Son of *Ashtar*; after a sharp Engagement, *Obeidollah's* Forces were beaten and himself killed in the Camp. *Ibrahim* cut off

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 67.
cæpit Jul. 27.
A. C. 686.

⁶ MS. Laud. Num. 161. A. *Abulpheda.*

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 67.
cæpit Jul. 27.
A. C. 686.

his Head and burnt his Body. The Number of the Son of *Ziyàd's* Men that were drowned in the Flight, was greater than that which was slain in the Field. His Head with some others were sent to *Almochtàr*.³ Thus God revenged the Death of *Hosein* by the means of *Almochtàr*, though *Almochtàr* had no good design in it. ⁴ After the Success of this Battel, the People had such a Reverence for this Ark, that they almost Idolized it.

This Year, *Abdollah* sent his Brother *Musab* to govern *Basorab*: *Almochtàr* was sole Master of *Cufah*, where he persecuted all that he could lay his Hands on, who were not of *Hosein's* Party. *Músaab* rode muffled to *Basorab*, and when he alighted at the Temple, and went up into the Pulpit, the People cried out *Emìr, Emìr*, that is, a *Governour, a Governour*. He bad *Hà-reth* his Predecessor give place, which he did, sitting one Step below him. Then having according to custom first praised God he began with these Words of the ⁵ Twenty eighth Chapter of the *Alcoran*; *We relate to thee, the History of Moses and Pharaoh with truth, for [the satisfaction of] those that believe*; till he came to these Words, and was of them that defile the

³ *Abulpheda*. ⁴ MS. *Laud*. Num. 161. A. ⁵ *Alcoran*, Ch. xxviii.

Earth; and ⁹ pointed with his Hand towards *Syria*: And when he came at these Words, *Who were weakened in the Earth, and we shall make them Rulers, and make them Heirs*: Pointing towards *Hejaz* or *Arabia Petraea*: And at these Words, *And we shewed Pharaoh and Haman, and their Armies what they most feared*, he pointed again towards *Syria*. Then he said to the *Basorians*, “ I hear that you use to give Names “ to your *Emirs*; I have named my self *Hejaz*, “ that is *Arabia*.

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 67.
œpit. Jul. 27.
A. C. 686.

Soon after one *Shebet* came to *Basrah*, upon a crop-eared bob-tailed Mule, with his Cloaths rent, crying out as loud as he could, *Ya gautha, Ya gautha*, Help! Help! As soon as they had described the manner of his Appearance to *Mûsab*, he said he was sure it must be *Shebet*, for no body else would do so but him, and ordered them to give him Admission. He came with a heavy Complaint, seconded by a great many of the chief Men of *Cufah*, who represented the great Disorders committed there, and their sufferings under the Administration of *Almoctar*; particularly an Insurrection of their Slaves against them, begging his Assistance, and persuading him earnestly to march with an Army against

⁹ When he pointed towards *Syria* he meant *Abdalmélick* whom he compares to *Pharaoh* and *Haman*; and when he pointed towards *Arabia* he meant his Brother *Abdollah*.

Abdolmélick
An, Heg. 67.
cæpit Jul. 27.
A. C. 686.

Almoctar. He was very much inclined to hearken to their Proposal, but was resolved not to stir till *Almohàlleb* his Lieutenant over *Persia* should come to his Assistance. He wrote to *Almohalleb* who made no great haste, not very much approving this Expedition; but he obeyed the second Summons, and came to him with large Supplies both of Men and Money. They joined their Forces, and marched towards *Cusab* against *Almoctar*, who was not wanting to his own Defence, but mustered his Forces, and gave them Battel; after a bloody Fight *Almoctar* was beaten, and made his Retreat into the royal Castle of *Cusab*. *Musab* pursued him and besieged him there, where he continued behaving himself bravely till he was killed, upon which his Men surrendered to *Musab* at Discretion, who put them every Man to the Sword. ¹ They were in all seven Thousand. *Almoctar* was then Sixty seven Years old.

² Thus died that great Man, who had beaten all the Generals of *Yezid*, *Merwàn* and *Abdolmélick*, all three Caliphs of the House of *Ommiyah*, and made himself Master of *Cusab*, and all *Babylonian Iràk*, whereof that City was the Capital, and never pardoned any one of those who had declared themselves Enemies of the Family

¹ This was in the Month *Ramàdan* An. 67. ² *D'Herbelot* in *Mokhtâr*,

of the Prophet, nor those whom he could believe to have dipt their Hands in *Hosein's* Blood, or that of his Relations; so that it is said that he killed near Fifty Thousand Men of those People, without reckoning those who were slain in the Battels which he fought.

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 68.
cœpit Jul. 17.
A. C. 687.

³ This Year the Sect of Separatists called *Azarakites*, sworn Enemies to all established Government, both Temporal and Spiritual, and particularly to the House of *Ommiyah*, made an Eruption out of *Persia*, and overran all *Iràk*, till they came near *Cusab*, and penetrated as far as *Madayen*. They committed all manner of Outrages as they went, destroying all they met, ripping open the Women with Child, and exercising the utmost Cruelty without Distinction of Sex or Age. There was a Lady of extraordinary Piety as well as Beauty, which one of them would have spared, to whom another answered, What! Thou art taken with her Beauty thou Enemy of God, and hast denied the Faith! and killed her. *Almohalleb* then Governour of *Mausal* and *Mesopotamia*, mustered his chosen Troops at *Basorah*, and met them at a Place called *Saulàk*, where they fought desperately for eight Months, without intermitting one Day. This Year there was such a Famine in *Syria*, that they could not undertake any Expedition, nor

³ An Heg. 68. cœpit Jul. 17. A. C. 687.

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 69.
cepit Jul. 5.
A. C. 688.

lay Siege to any Town, because of the great Scarcity of Provision. *Abdolmélick* Encamped in a Place called *Botnàn* near to the Territories of *Kinnisrin*; his Camp was very much incommoded by the great Showers of Rain, however he wintered there, and afterwards returned to *Damascus*.

In the sixty ninth Year *Abdolmélick* left *Damascus* to go against *Múfab* the Son of *Zobeir*, and appointed *Amrou* the Son of *Säid* to take care of *Damascus*, who seized upon it for himself,⁴ which obliged *Abdolmélick* to return. Others say, that when he went out, *Amrou* the Son of *Säid* said to him, You are going to *Iràk*, and your Father gave me this Government after him, and upon that Consideration I fought along with him, and you cannot be ignorant of the Pains I took in his Service; wherefore give me this Government after you. *Abdolmélick* would not hearken to his Proposal, and *Amrou* returned to *Damascus*, whither *Abdolmélick* followed him close. They skirmished in the Streets several Days; at last the Women came with their Children crying out, How long will you fight and destroy one another for the Government of the *Coreish*? and with much ado parted them; and Articles of Peace were drawn between *Amrou* and *Abdolmélick*.

⁴ MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

But standing in Competition for a Crown is a Crime never to be forgiven. Three or four Days after *Abdalmélick* sent for him; he was in Company with his Wife and two or three Friends, who dissuaded him from trusting himself in his Hands, but he resolved to venture, and as he went out he stumbled: His Wife took the Omen, and repeated her Persuasions to stay him, but to no Purpose. He put on his Sword and took an Hundred Men along with him. When he came thither, he was introduced himself, but the Gates were shut upon his Men, and no Body permitted to go in along with him but only a little Foot-boy. When he came in *Abdalmélick* spoke very civilly to him, and placed him by him on the Couch where he sat. After a long Discourse he commanded a Servant to take his Sword off. *Amrou* expressing some Unwillingness to be disarmed, What, said *Abdalmélick*, would you sit by me with your Sword on? After his Sword was off, *Abdalmélick* told him, that when he first rebelled against him he had taken an Oath that if ever he got him into his Power, he would put Fetters upon him; *Amrou* said, he hoped he would not expose him in them to the People; *Abdalmélick* promised him he would not, and at the same time pulled the Fetters from under his Cushion, which were accordingly put upon his Hands and Feet. Then

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 69.
cœpit Jul. 5.
A. C. 688.

he

Abdalmélick he plucked him so violently against the Couch
 An. Heg. 69. that he beat out two of his Fore-Teeth ; after
 capit Jul. 5. which he told him, that he would still let him
 A. C. 688. go if he thought he would continue in his Du-
 ty and keep the *Coreish* right ; But, said he,
 there never were two Men in one Country en-
 gaged in such an Affair as you and I are con-
 cerned in but one of them expelled the other.
 Some say, that when *Abdalmélick* saw *Amrou's*
 Teeth dropt out, as he was taking them in his
 Fingers, he said, I see your Teeth are out, you
 will never be reconciled to me again after this;
 and immediately commanded him to be be-
 headed.

The *Muezzin* at the same time called to
 Evening Prayers. *Abdalmélick* went out to Pray-
 ers, and left the Execution of *Amrou* to his
 Brother *Abdôlaxiz* the Son of *Merwân* ; who
 standing over him with his Sword, *Amrou* beg-
 ged of him for God's Sake not to do that Office
 himself, but to leave it to some other Person
 that was not so nearly related , whereupon he
 threw away his Sword and let him alone. *Ab-*
dolmélick made but short Prayers, and when he
 came back, the People observing that *Amrou* was
 not long ago with him, acquainted his Brother
John with the Matter, who took with him some
 of his Friends, and a Thousand of *Amrou's*
 Slaves, and made an Assault upon *Abdalmélick's*
 House,

House, and broke open the Gates, and killed several of the Guards. In the mean time *Abdolmélick* wondering to find *Amrou* alive, asked *Abdolaziz* the reason of it, who answering, that he had forborn him out of Compassion: *Abdolmélick* gave him reproachful Language, and calling for a Javelin he struck *Amrou* with it, but it not penetrating, he seconded his Blow, still to no purpose: Then feeling upon his Arm, he perceived he had a Coat of Mail on, at which he laughed and said, *Cousin, you come well prepared!* Then he called for his Sword, and having commanded *Amrou* to be thrown upon his Back, he killed him; but was at the same time seized with such a trembling, that they were forced to take him up, and lay him upon his Couch. All this while *John* and his Friends were pressing in, killing and wounding all they met: Wherefore they threw out *Amrou's* Head, to satisfy them that their fighting would be to no purpose; and *Abdolaziz* the Son of *Merwàn*, to appease their Rage, threw Money amongst them in plenty. When they saw the Head and the Money, they left fighting and fell to picking it up: But after the heat was over, it is said that *Abdolmélick*, such was his Covetousness, recalled it all again, and ordered it to be put in the publick Treasury. *John* was taken Prisoner and Sentenced to Death, but *Abdolaziz* begged of his Brother not to kill

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 69.
cæpit Jul 5.
A. C. 688.

Abdolmélick two of the *Ommian* Family in one Day; where-
 An. Heg. 69. upon he was Imprisoned for about a Month or
 caput Jul. 5. more, after which he advised with those about
 A. C. 688. him concerning the putting him and his Friends
 to Death; he was answered that it was better
 let alone; that they were near Relatitons, and
 the best way would be to give them their liber-
 ty and let them go if they would to his Enemy
Musab the Son of *Zobeir*; that if they were
 killed in that Service, he would be rid of them
 by the hands of others; that if they returned
 and were delivered into his hands again, he
 might then without incurring any Censure deal
 with them according to his own Discretion.
 This Advice took place, and they went to *Mu-
 sab* the Son of *Zobeir*. Then *Abdolmélick* sent
 to *Amrou's* Wife for the Articles of Peace which
 he had signed to her Husband; she bad the
 Messenger go back, and tell him that she had
 wrapt them up with him in his Winding-Sheet
 that he might plead his Cause against him with
 them before his Lord. This was an old Grudge
 between *Abdolmélick* and his Cousin *Amrou* be-
 gun in their Infancy, occasioned by an old Wo-
 man of their own Family, whom they visited
 frequently when they were Boys, and she used
 to dress Victuals for them, and give each of them
 his Dish by himself; and always ordered Mat-
 ters so, as to raise Emulation between them,
 and

and fet them together by the Ears. So that they were either always quarrelling or else so obstinately silent as not to speak one Word. *Merwân* before he died had received Information that *Amrou* had promised himself the Government after his Decease, which made him make the more haste to lay hold of a proper Opportunity of proposing to the Congregation to swear to his Son *Abdolmélick* and *Abdôlaziz* after him, with which they readily complied without any Exception.

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 69.
cæpit Jul. 5.
A. C. 688.

³ In the seventieth Year, the *Greeks* made an incursion into *Syria*. *Abdolmélick*, who had Bu-ness enough upon his Hands already, between *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir* in *Arabia*, and *Mûsab* his Brother in *Irâk*, was not at leisure to go against them, but agreed to pay the *Grecian* Emperor a Thousand Ducats every Week. This same Year *Musab* went to *Meccah* with prodigious Wealth and Cattel, and all manner of Furniture, which he distributed amongst the *Arabs*. *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir* went this Year on Pilgrimage.

⁴ *Abdolmélick*, now resolved upon his Expedition into *Irâk* against *Musab*, put to Death the principal Persons that had been concerned with *Amrou* the Son of *Saïd*: he had sent before him one *Caled* the Son of *Asid*, who going

³ An. Heg. 70. cæpit Jun. 24. A. C. 689. ⁴ An. Heg. 71. cæpit Jun. 14. A. C. 690.

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 71.
capit Jun. 14.
A. C. 690.

privately into *Basorab*, had begun to form a Party for him : *Musab* having received Intelligence of his Proceedings, went to *Basorab* in hopes of surprising him ; but he being out of the way, he sent for the Chief of the *Basorians*, and reproached them severally ; one with the Meanness of his Family ; another with some scandalous Action either of his own, or some of his Relations ; all of them with something ; which Behaviour only exasperated them, and made them more averse to his Interest. *Abdalmélick* had in the mean time sent several Letters to the leading Men full of large Promises : Amongst the rest he sent one to the faithful *Ibrahim* the Son of *Alashtar*, who delivered it to *Musab* sealed up as it came. The Contents of it were, that if he would come over to his Party he would give him the Lieutenancy of *Irak* ; *Ibrahim* told him that he might depend upon it that he had written much to the same Purpose to all his Friends, and advised him to behead them ; but *Musab* did not approve of that Expedient, because it would create an Aversion in all their Tribes ; then *Ibrahim* advised him to Imprison them or put them in Chains, and set some body over them, who if he should be Conquered should strike their Heads off, but if he got the Victory he might make a Compliment of them to their Tribes. *Musab* answered, I have

have other Business to mind ; God bleſs *Abubeh-ràn* who gave me warning of the Treachery of the *Iràkians* as if he had foreſeen this very Buſineſs wherein I am now engaged.

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 71.
capit. ful. 14.
A. C. 690.

The *Syrian* Nobility did not approve of *Abdalmélick's* engaging himſelf in this Expedition ; not that they diſliked his Deſign, but they choſe rather that he ſhould ſtay at home with them at *Damaſcus*, and reduce *Iràk* by his Generals, rather than expoſe his Perſon to the Hazards of War, fearing, leſt if he ſhould miſcarry, their Government might be in an unſettled Condition, and their Affairs embroiled. To this he answered, That no body was fit for that Undertaking but a Man of Senſe, and perhaps he might ſend a Man of Courage that wanted Conduct ; that he found himſelf qualified both by his Abilities in War and his Perſonal Courage : That *Múſab* was of a courageous Family; that his Father *Zobeir* had been the moſt valiant of the *Coreiſh*, and that he himſelf was brave, but did not underſtand War, and loved an eaſy Life ; and that he had ſome with him that would be againſt him, but for his own Men he could depend upon their Fidelity.

They joined Battle at a Place called *Maſken*. The *Iràkians*, according to their Cuſtom, were reſolved to betray *Múſab* before ; for they did not extend to expoſe their Country to be ravaged by a *Syrian* Army for his Sake. His faith-

Abdolmélick
An.Heg. 71.
cæpit Aug. 14.
A. C. 690.

ful Friend *Ibrahim* the Son of *Ashtar* gave the first Charge, and repulsed ⁶ *Mohammed* the Son of *Haroun*, whom *Abdolmélick* supported with a fresh Company; and at the second Charge *Ibrahim* was killed. *Múfab's* General of the Horse ran away, and a great many of the rest stood by and would not obey his Command: Then he called out O *Ibrahim*! *but there is no Ibrahim for me to Day!* It is said, that when *Múfab* was upon his March against *Abdolmélick*, *Abdolmélick* asked if *Omer* the Son of *Abdollah* was with him; being answered No, for he had made him his Lieutenant of *Persia*; he enquired next if *Almo-balleb* was there, they told him No, he was Lieutenant over *Mausal*: he asked the Third Time if *Ibàd* the Son of *Hossèm* was there; being answered in the Negative, and assured that he had left him behind him at *Basorah*, he was exceedingly glad and presaged a certain Victory. For, said he, he will have no body to help him.

When *Múfab* perceived his forlorn Condition, he persuaded his Son *Isa* to ride with those Men he had to *Meccah*, and acquaint his Uncle with the Perfidiousness of the *Irakians*: But *Isa* (who must be very young, for his Father was but six and thirty) would not leave him, but told him that ⁷ his Life would do him no good if he sur-

⁶ That is as we pronounce, *Mahomet* the Son of *Aaron*.
⁷ *Yacut Hamàwi*.

vived him, and persuaded him to make his Retreat to *Basorah*, where he would find his Friends met together, and from whence he might go to the Governour of the Faithful, meaning his Uncle *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobéir*: But *Múfab* said, It should never be talked among the *Coreish* that he ran away, nor that he came into the sacred Temple of *Meccah* routed, and therefore bad his Son, if he chose it, come back and fight; he obeyed and died in Battel, and his Father *Múfab* was killed not long after him. It is said, that during the Engagement *Abdolmélick* had had sent to *Músaab* and tendered him Quarter; but he answered, That such Men as he was did not use to go from such a Place as that (meaning the Field of Battel) without either conquering or being conquered. After he was grievously wounded with Arrows he was stabbed, and his Head cut off and carried to *Abdolmélick*, who proffered the Bearer a Thousand Ducats, which he refused, saying, That he did not kill him in Obedience to him, but to revenge his own Quarrel, and for that Reason he would take no Money for bringing the Head. ¹ *Músaab* was *Abdolmélick's* intimate Friend before he was *Chaliph*, but marrying afterwards *Sekinah*, *Hosein's* Daughter, and *Ayesha* the Daughter of *Telhab* he was engaged by those Marriages in

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 71.
cæpit fun. 14.
A.C. 690.

¹ *Abu'lpheda.*

Abdolmélick the Interest of two Families that were at mortal Enmity with the House of Ommiyah.

An. Heg. 71.
cæpit Jun. 14.
A. C. 690.

7 As soon as this Battel was over *Abdolmélick* entered into *Cusab*, and with it took Possession of both the *Babylonian* and *Persian Iràk*. As soon as he signified to the People that he expected they should come in and take the Oaths to him, they came unanimously. Soon after he came into the Castle he enquired after *John* the Brother of *Amrou* whom he had killed; and being informed that he was not far off, he would have had his Men produced him; which they refusing, unless he would first promise them that he should suffer no Harm, he seemed to take it ill at first that they should pretend to capitulate with him, but at last he condescended to promise them, and *John* made his Appearance. When he came into his Presence, *Thou vile Wretch!* said *Abdolmélick*, *with what Face wilt thou appear before thy Lord, after having^s deposed me? With that Face*, answered *John*, *that he hath created*. Then he took the Oath of Allegiance to him, and there was an End of that Business. He ordered vast Sums of Money to be distributed among the People, and made a splendid Entertainment, to which every body

⁷ MS. *Laud*. Num. 161. A. ⁸ That is as much as in him lay; for they use that Expression, though a Prince was not actually deposed.

that would come was welcome. When he was fat down, *Amrou* the Son of *Hareth* an ancient *Mechzumian* came in; he called him to him, and placing him by him upon his *Sofa*, asked him what Meat he liked best of all that ever he had eaten; ² the old *Mechzumian* answered, An Asses Neck well seasoned and well roasted: You do nothing, says *Abdolmélick*, what say you to a Leg or a Shoulder of a sucking Lamb, well roasted and ³ covered over with Butter and Milk? Whilst he was at Supper he said,

Abdolmélick
An.Heg. 71.
capit Jun. 14.
A. C. 690.

How sweetly we live, if a Shadow would last!

After Supper was over he took the old *Mechzumian* along with him to satisfy him concerning the Antiquities of the Castle; and when the Answers to all his Questions began of Course with *This was*, and *That was*, and *He was*, and the like, it raised a melancholly Reflection in the *Chaliph*, and he repeated this *Arabick* Verse out of an ancient Poet;

*And every thing that is new, (O Omair!) goes
to Decay, and every one that IS to Day goes
to HE WAS.*

² MS. Laud. Num. 161. A. ³ Hence I observe that the *Arabians* had not altered their Cookery since *Abraham's* time, who made use of Butter and Milk when he entertained the Angels. See *Gen.* xviii. 8. There is some Obscurity in the *Arabick*.

Abdalmélick Then returning to his *Sofa* he threw himself
 An. Heg. 71. upon it, and repeated these Verses,
cæpit fun. 14.

A. C. 690.

*Proceed leifurely becaufe thou art mortal, and
 and chaftife thy felf O Man!*

*For what is pafst will not be when it is gone, as
 that which is prefent will be pafst.*

Or,

*For what was will not be when it is pafst, as what
 is will be it was.*

7 When *Múfaab's* Head was brought to him in the Caſtle, one that ſtood by ſaid, Now I recollect ſomething very particular of my own Obſervation; I ſaw *Hoſein's* Head preſented in this ſame Caſtle to *Obeidollah*, *Obeidollah's* to *Almochtar*, *Almochtar's* to *Múfaab*, and now at laſt *Múfaab's* to your ſelf. The *Chaliph* was ſurprized and concerned at this Diſcourſe, and commanded the Caſtle to be forthwith demolished to avert the ill Omen.

8 When the News of *Múfaab's* Death was brought to his Brother *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, he made a Speech to the People upon that Occaſion as follows, “ Praise be to God to
 “ whom belongs the Creation and the Command of
 “ all Things; who gives Dominion to whom he
 “ pleaſes, and takes it away from whom he pleaſes;

7 MS. Hun. Num. 495. D'Herbelot.
 Num. 161, A.

8 MS. Laud.

“ and strengthens whom he pleases, and weakens
 “ whom he pleases; only God never weakens him
 “ that hath Truth on his Side, though he stands
 “ alone, nor doth he strengthen him whose Friend
 “ is the Devil, though all the World should joyn
 “ in his Assistance. There is News come from
 “ Irāk which is Matter both of Sorrow and Joy
 “ to us; it is the Death of Músaab, to whom God
 “ be merciful. Now what rejoyceth us is, that
 “ his Death is Martyrdom to him, and what is
 “ Matter of Grief to us, is the Sorrow where-
 “ with his Friends will be afflicted at his Depar-
 “ ture; but Men of Understanding will have re-
 “ course to Patience, which is of all the most noble
 “ Consolation. As for my own Part, if I be a
 “ a Sufferer in Músaab, I was so before in [my
 “ Father] Azzobeir: ^s Nor was Músaab any
 “ thing else but one of the Servants of God and an
 “ Assistant of mine. But the Irakians are trea-
 “ cherous and perfidious, they betrayed him and
 “ sold him for a vile Price. And if we be killed,
 “ by God we do not dye upon Beds as the Sons of
 “ Abilâsi die: By God there was never a Man
 “ of them killed in Fight, either in the Days of
 “ Ignorance or Islam: But we do not die but
 “ pushing with Lances and striking under the
 “ shadow of Swords. As for this present World
 “ it diverts from the most High King, whose

Abdolmélick
 An. Heg. 71.
 cœpit Jun. 14.
 A. C. 690.

^s Here is a difficulty in the Arabick.

Abdolmélick “ *Dominion shall not pass away, and whose King-*
 An.Heg. 71. “ *dom shall not perish; and if it [the present*
capit fun. 14 “ *World] turns its Face I shall not receive it with*
A. C. 690. “ *immoderate Joy; and if it turns its Back I*
 “ *shall not bewail it with indecent Sorrow. I*
 “ *have said what I had to say, and I beg Par-*
 “ *don of God both for my self and you.*

6 Whilst Mohalleb was engaged against the Separatists they received Intelligence of Músaab's Death, before he and his Men knew any thing at all of it. Whereupon they called out to his Men, *What! will you not tell us what you think of Músaab?* They said, He is the Imàm of the right way. And he is, replied the Separatists, *your Friend both in this World and that to come?* They answered, yes. *And you are his Friends both alive and dead?* Yes. *And what do you think of Abdolmélick the Son of Merwan?* They said, He is the Son of the accursed; we are clear of him before God, and the shedding his Blood is more free for us than yours. *And you are,* continued the Separatists, *his Enemies both alive and dead?* Yes, we are his Enemies both alive and dead. *Well,* said the Separatists, *Abdolmélick hath killed your Imàm Músaab, and you will make Abdolmélick your Imàm to Morrow, though you wash your Hands of him to Day and curse his Father.* To which the other answered, You lye,

6 An.Heg. 72 *capit fun. 3.* A. C. 691.

ye Enemies of God. But the next Day, when they were informed of the truth of it, they changed their Note, and *Mobàlleb* and all his Men took the Oath to *Abdolmélick*: Upon this account they were bitterly reproached by the Separatists, who said to them, *Now, you Enemies of God! Yesterday you were clear of him both in this World and the World to come, and affirmed that you were his Enemies both alive and dead, and now to Day he is your Imàm and your Caliph, who killed your Imàm whom you had chosen for your Patron. Which of these two is the right?* They could not deny what they had said the Day before, and were loath to give themselves the Lye; so they answered, *You Enemies of God! we were pleased with the other so long as he presided over us; and now we approve of this as we did before of the other. To which the Separatists answered, No, by God, but you are Brethren of the Devils, Companions of the Wicked, and Slaves to the present World. This is the Account of that Conference.*

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 72.
cepit fun. 3.
A. C. 691.

Abdolmélick, now upon his return into Syria, made *Bashur* his Brother Governour of *Cusab*, and *Caled* the Son of *Abdollah* Governor of *Basorab*. When *Caled* came thither, he made *Moballeb* Supervisor of the Tribute; indiscreetly, for *Moballeb* was the best General of the Age, and in all Probability the Victory which was
gotten

Abdolmélick gotten by the *Azarakites* was owing to his Ab-
 An. Heg. 72. sence: They beat *Abdôlaziz* who was sent a-
cœpit Jun. 3. gainst them, and took his Wife Prisoner: As
A. C. 691. they were talking about what she was worth,
 and valuing her at about an Hundred thousand
 Pieces, one of the Chief of them said, *What,*
shall she escape so? I do not see that this Heathen
doth any thing but cause disturbance amongst you,
 and struck her Head off.² Some that stood by,
 told him they could not tell whether they should
 praise him or blame him, he answered he did it
 only out of Zeal. *Caled* wrote a Letter to *Ab-*
dolmélick acquainting him with the loss of the
 Army, and desiring to know his Pleasure, who
 answered him thus. " I understand by the Let-
 " ter you sent by your Messenger, that you sent
 " your Brother to fight against the Separatists ;
 " and I received the account of your Slaughter
 " and Flight ; and I enquired of your Messen-
 " ger where *Mobálleb* was, who informed me
 " that he was your Lieutenant over *Ebwàz* ;
 " God rejected thy Counsel when thou sentest
 " thy Brother, an *Arabian* of *Meccab* to Battel,
 " and didst keep *Moballeb* by thy side to gather
 " Taxes, who is a Man of a most penetrating
 " Judgment, and good Government, hardened in
 " War, and is the Son and the Grandson of it :
 " See therefore and send *Mobálleb* to meet them

² MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A.

“ in *Ebwáz* or beyond *Ebwáz* ; and I have sent
 “ to *Bashur* to assist thee with an Army of *Cu-*
fians ; and if thou goest and meetest thy Ene-
 “ my, do not undertake any Enterprize against
 “ him till thou hast shewn him to *Mohálleb*, and
 “ asked his Advice about him if it please God.
 “ Peace be upon thee, and the Mercy of God.”

Abdolmélick
 An. Heg. 72.
 æpit Jun. 3.
 A. C. 691.

Caled was not well pleased with the Contents of the Letter, both because he had blamed him for sending his Brother to manage the War, and because he had laid him under the restraint of doing nothing without the Advice of *Mohálleb*. *Abdolmélick* ordered *Bashur* to assist them with five Thousand *Cufians*, and to send a Messenger first out of Complaisance to *Mohálleb*, who was a Person of too great Consideration, not to be treated with the utmost Respect.

Their Forces being ready, they marched and met the Enemy near the City *Ebwáz*, for the *Azarakites* were advanced so far, and almost come up to the Camp of the *Muslemans*. There were Ships in the River, which *Mohálleb* advised *Caled* to seize ; but before that could be put in Execution, there came a Party of the Enemies Horse, and set them on Fire. As *Mohálleb* passed by one of his Generals, and perceived he had not Intrenched himself, he asked him the reason of it. The other swore, he valued them no than a Camel's Fart. *Mohálleb* bad him not de-
 spise

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 72.
æpit Jun. 3.
A. C. 691.

spise them, for they were the Lions of the *Ara-
bians*. One of the *Azarakite* Poets heard what
the General had said to *Mohalleb*, and repeated
three Verses, the Meaning of which was, That
he might be most properly compared to a Cam-
mel's Fart, whose good Works did not come up
to his Pretences. They remained in their In-
trenchments about twenty Days; and *Caled* and
Mohalleb fell upon them, and, after as bloody a
Battel as had been fought in the Memory of
Man, entirely routed them and took Possession
of their Camp, *Caled* sent *David* to pursue them,
and dispatched an Express to *Abdolmélick* ac-
quainting him with the Success; who immedi-
ately commanded his Brother *Bashur* to send
four Thousand Horse more to join *David* and
pursue them into *Persia*: These Orders were
obeyed till they had lost almost all their Horses,
and were quite tired, and almost starved, so that
the greatest part of the two Armies returned on
Foot to *Ebwàz*.

Thus *Abdolmélick* in the Seventy second Year
having brought all the Eastern Part of the *Musle-
man* Empire entirely under his Subjection, had
no Opposition left but what was made at *Mec-
cab* by old *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*. Against
him *Abdolmélick* sent *Hejage* the Son of *Joseph*,
one of the most Eloquent as well as Warlike
Captains that flourished amongst them, during
the

the Reigns of the *Chaliphs*. One Reason among others that inclined him to employ him in that Service was, because when *Abdolméllick* was upon his return into *Syria*, *Hejage* said to him, I saw in my Dream that I had taken the Son of *Zobeir* and slayed him; wherefore send me against him, and commit the Management of that War to my Charge. The *Caliph* was pleased with the Dream, and sent him with a strong Body of *Syrians* to *Meccab*, whither he had written before, promising them Protection and Security, upon Condition that they should come under his Obedience. *Abdollah* sent out Parties of Horse against him, but in all the Skirmishes they came by the worst. Hereupon *Hejage* wrote to *Abdolméllick* to send him sufficient Force to besiege *Abdollah*, assuring him that his Fierceness was very much abated, and that his Men deserted daily. *Abdolméllick* wrote to *Thàrik* the Son of *Amer* to assist him, who joined him with five Thousand Men. *Hejage* came to *Thayef* (a Town lying sixty Miles Eastward of *Meccab*) in the Month *Shaaban* in the Seventy second Year, and *Thàrik* came to him in the new Moon of *Dulbagiah*, but he did not go round the Temple, nor come near it, because he was under a Vow; but kept himself in his Arms, and neither touched any Woman, nor Anointed himself till after the Death of the Son of *Zobeir*.

Abdolméllick
An. Heg. 72.
cæpit Jun. 3.
A.C. 691.

Ab-

Abdolmélick *Abdollah* killed the Sacrifice (either Camels or Oxen) on the ¹ *killing Day*, that is the tenth of ² *Mobarram*; but neither he nor his Friends performed the Rights of Pilgrimage, because they had not been at Mount *Arafat*, which is necessary in order to the making a true Pilgrimage, but they being besieged could not do it.

This same Year *Abdolmélick* wrote to *Abdollah* the Son of *Hazim* to persuade him to come in, and promised him to give him the Revenues of *Chosaran* for seven Years upon that Condition; who took his Proffer so disdainfully, that he told the Messenger if it were not for making a Disturbance between the two Tribes, he would have killed him; however he made him eat the Letter he brought. After this *Abdolmélick* sent a General against him with sufficient Force, and killed him. Others say that he was not killed till after the Death of *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, and that *Abdolmélick* sent *Abdollah's* Head to the Son of *Házim*, imagining that he would not then stand out any longer; but it had a quite contrary Effect, for as soon as he saw it, he swore he would never come under his Obedience as long as he lived; then calling for a Basin he washed the Head and Embalmed it, and wrapped it up in Linen and prayed over it, and sent it to *Abdollah's* Relations at *Medinah*;

¹ *Arab. Yaumolnehri.*
A.C. 692.

² *An Heg. 73. cœpit Maii 22.*

and made the Messenger eat the Letter, telling him that if he had not been a Messenger he would have struck his Head off: And some say that he cut his Hands and Feet off first, and afterwards his Head.

Abdolv mélick
An. Heg. 73.
cæpit Maii 22.
A. C. 692.

⁸ The whole time during which *Abdollah* was besieged was eight Months and seventeen Nights. They battered the Temple of *Meccah* with Engines, and it Thundered and Lightened so dreadfully, as put the *Syrians* into a terrible Consternation, and made them give over. At this *Hejage* stuck the corner of his Vest into his Girdle, and putting one of the Stones into it that they used to throw out of the Engines, slang it; his Example set them on Work afresh. The next Morning there came upon them Storm after Storm, and killed twelve of his Men, which quite dispirited the *Syrians*. *Hejage* said to them, O *Syrians* do not dislike this, I am a Son of *Tebámah*: This is the Storm of *Tebámah*: This Victory is just at hand: Rejoice at the News of it; their Men suffer as much by it as you do. The next Day there was another Storm, and some of *Abdollah's* Men were killed, which gave *Hejage* opportunity to encourage his Men and say, Do not you see that they are hurt, and you are in a state of Obedience, and they of Disobedience? Thus they continued fighting till a little

* MS. Laud. Numb. 161. A.

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 73.
œpit Maii 22.
A. C. 692.

before *Abdollah* was killed. His Friends deserted from him every Day, and ran over to *Hejage*. The greatest part of the Inhabitants of *Meccah* did so, to the Number of ten Thousand: Nay, his two Sons *Hamzah* and *Chobeib* left him, and went and procured Conditions for themselves. When he perceived himself forsaken on all sides, he went to his Mother (who was Grand-Daughter to *Abubeker* the first *Caliph*, and was then ninety Years of Age, a Woman of a most undaunted Spirit) and said to her, “ O Mother ! The People have deserted me “ even to my own Children and Family, and I “ have but a few left with me, and they are “ such as would hardly be able to stand it out “ an Hours Space ; and these People will give “ me whatsoever I desire in this World ; what “ do you advise me to do ? ” Son, said she, *judge for your self ; if you know that you are in the right, and pretend to be so, persevere in it ; for your Friends have died for the sake of it ; wherefore be not so obstinately resolved to save your Neck as to become the Scorn of the Boys of the Ommian Family ! But if thou chusest the present World, Alas ! bad Servant ! thou hast destroyed thy self, and those that were killed with thee. And if thou sayest I stood to the Truth, and when my Friends declined I was weakened ! This is neither the part of an Ingenuous nor a Religious Man.*

*Man. And how long can you continue in this World? Death is more eligible. Then Abdollab drew near, and kissed her Head, and said, " By " God, this is the same Thought wherein I " have persisted to this very Day ; neither did " I incline towards this World, nor desire to live " in it, nor did any other Motive persuade me to " dissent, but my Zeal for God. However I had " a Mind to know your Opinion, and you have " added to the View which I had before : " Wherefore, Mother, look upon me as a dead " Man from this Day : Nor let your Grief be " immoderate, but resign your self to God's " Command ; for your Son hath not stood in " the Footsteps of the Scandalous, nor done any " thing worthy of Reproach ; nor prevaricated " in the Judgment of God, nor dealt treache- " rously in giving his Faith : nor supported him- " self by doing Injury to any Person that deli- " vered up himself or entered into Covenant ; " nor did any Injustice done by any of my Offi- " cers ever reach me that I approved of, but al- " ways discouraged it ; nor was there any thing " that I preferred to the doing the Will of my " Lord. O God ! thou knowest that I do not " say this for the Justification of my self, but to " comfort my Mother, that she may receive " Consolation after my Decease." She answer- ed, *I hope in God, I shall have good Comfort in**

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 73.
capit Maii 22.
A C. 192.

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 73.
cepit Maii 22.
A. C. 692.

thee whether thou goest before me, or I before thee. Now go out upon my Soul, and see what will be the issue. To which he answered, " God give thee a good Reward, O Mother! You will not cease praying for me, both before and after." She answered, That I never shall; others are killed in vain, but thou for the Truth, O God! be merciful to him for his Watchfulness in the long Nights and his Diligence ⁶ and his Piety towards his Father and me; O God I resign my self to what thou shalt command concerning him; I am pleased with what thou dost decree; give me in Abdollah the Reward of those that are grateful and persevering. This was about ten Days before he was killed, and some say five. The Day whereon he was killed he went into the House of his Mother, with his Coat of Mail on and his Helmet, and took hold on her Hand and kissed it. She said, This Farewell is not for a long time. He told her he was come to take his leave of her, for this was his last Day in this Life. As he embraced her, she felt the Coat of Mail, and told him that the putting that on did not look like a Man that was resolved to die; he said that he had not put it on, but only that he might be the better able to defend her; she

⁶ Here is a word or two which I do not so well apprehend the meaning of: *Watthemà, Phi'l Hawájeri'l Me-dinah wa Meccah.*

said she would not be so defended, and bad him put it off. ⁷ Then she bad him go out, assuring him that if he was killed he died a Martyr; he said he did not so much fear Death as the being exposed after it; to which she couragiously answered, that a Sheep when it was once killed never felt the slaying. Before he went out, to increase his Courage, she gave him a draught with a Pound of Musk in it. At last he went out, and defended himself to the Terror and Astonishment of his Enemies, killing a great many with his own Hands, so that they kept at a distance, and threw Bricks at him, and made him stagger; and when he felt the Blood run down his Face and Beard, he repeated this Verse,

Abdolv mélick
An. Heg. 173.
cæpit Maii 22.
A. C. 692.

*The Blood of our Wounds doth not fall down upon
our Heels, but upon our Feet.*

meaning, that he did not turn his Back upon his Enemies. Then they killed him, and as soon as Hejage heard the News he fell down and worshipped. His Head was cut off, and his Body hung up, and they smelt the Perfume of the Musk he had drank several Days after.

Tharik said to Hejage that never Woman bore a braver Man. How, said Hejage, do you commend a Man that was in Rebellion against the Emperor of the Faithful? Yes, answered

⁷ Elmakin.

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 73.
capit Mai 22.
A. C. 692.

Tharik, and he will excuse us ; do you only consider that we have been besieging him these seven Months, and he had neither Army nor strong Place of Defence, nevertheless whenever we engaged him he was always a Match for us, nay superior to us. This Discourse of theirs reached *Abdolmélick's* Ears, who said that *Tharik* was in the right.

Abdollah was *Caliph* nine Years, being inaugurated in the sixty fourth Year, immediately after the Death of *Yezid* the Son of *Moawiyah*. He was a Man of extraordinary Courage, but covetous to the last degree. So that this Sentence passed amongst the *Arabians* for a sort of a Proverb, That there was never a valiant Man but was also liberal, till *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*. He was in a great Repute upon the account of his Piety : He is said to have been so fixed and unmoved when he was at Prayer, that a Pidgeon lighted upon his Head, and sat there a considerable time, without his knowing any thing of the Matter. ³ *Abu'lpheda* says he wore a Suit of Cloaths ⁴ forty Years without putting them off his Back, but doth not inform us what they were made of. This Family of the *Zobeir's*

³ *Abu'lpheda*. MS. *Poc.* N. 303. ⁴ The *Arabian* Historians never use Figures to express their Numbers, but write them in Words at length. It is hardly to be supposed that the Transcriber would be guilty of such a Mistake as to write *Arbaina* for *Arbaah*, i. e. *Forty* for *four* ; and the other Account is incredible.

passed amongst the *Arabians* for a half-witted sort of People.

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 73.
cœpit Maii 22.
A. C. 692.

After he was dead, all *Arabia* acknowledged *Abdalmélick* for their *Caliph*, and *Hejage* took the Oaths of Allegiance for him. This Year *Mohammed* the Son of *Merwan* took *Affaphiyah* and beat the *Greeks*; and it is said that this same Year *Othman* the Son of *Waled* fought the *Greeks* on the side of *Armenia* with four Thousand Men, and beat their Army consisting of sixty Thousand.

⁵ *Hejage* now Master of all *Arabia* in the seventy fourth Year, pulls down the Temple of *Meccah*, which *Abdollah* had repaired, placing the Stone on the outside of it again, and restoring it to the Form it was in before *Mahomet's* time. He exercised most unmerciful Cruelty upon the poor *Medinians*, and stigmatized them with marks in their Necks and Hands; he used frequently to pick Quarrels with them without any Provocation, and punish them without any Crime. He met with one of them once and asked him what was the reason he did not assist *Othman* the Son of *Affân*? He answered he did. *Hejage* told him he lyed, and immediately commanded a Stamp of Lead to be put upon his Neck. Thus he continued plaguing and tormenting them, till the *Azarakites* raising new

⁵ An Heg. 74. cœpit Maii. 12. A. C. 693.

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 74.
cœpit Maii 12.
A. C. 693.

Commotions in the East, *Abdalmélick* thought his Service necessary in those Parts, and made him Governour of *Iràk*, *Choràsan* and *Sigistàn*; upon which he removed from *Medinah* to *Cufah*, *Abdalmélick's* Brother *Bashar* being then dead.

³ He entered into *Cufah* muffled up in his Turbant; the Curiosity of the People drew them all round about him, who assured them they should soon know who he was: Then 'going directly to the Mosque he mounted the *Membar* or Pulpit, where he treated them after a very rough manner, and swore that he would make the Wicked bear his own Burthen, and fit him with his own Shoe; and a great deal more to the same purpose, which increased their Terror and Aversion. ⁴ One Day when he went into the Pulpit, after a short Pause he rose up and said, "O *Irakians*! methinks I see the Heads [*of Men*] ripe and ready to be gathered, and Turbants and Beards sprinkled with Blood."

The Day after he came to *Cufah*, hearing a noise in the Street, he went directly to the Pulpit, and made a most reproachful Speech to them, swearing that he would make such an Example of them by the Severity of his Punishments, as should exceed all that went before it, and be a Pattern for all that should come after

³ *An Heg. 75. cœpit Maii 1. A.C. 694.* ⁴ *Abu'lpheragi-us. MS. Laud. Num. 161. A.*

it. He then began to give daily Instances of his Cruelty, and his Rage vented it self particularly upon those that had any hand in the Murther of the *Caliph Othman*. From thence he went not long after to *Basorah*, where he made them a Speech much to the same purpose that he had done before at *Cusab*; and to give them a taste of his Discipline, caused one of them to be Beheaded upon the Place, who had been informed against as being a Rebel. This provoked the *Iràkians* to such a degree, that they made an Insurrection against him, but to no purpose, for he beat them in a Field fight, and having sent eighteen of their Heads to *Moballeb* returned to *Basorah*.

Abdolméllick
An. Heg. 75.
cæpit Maii 1.
A. C. 694.

The *Azarikites* appearing with considerable Forces, *Hejage* sent *Moballeb* and *Abdorrhman* the Son of *Mekneph* against them: They had good Success at the beginning; but *Abdorrhman*, thinking it a disparagement to be commanded by *Moballeb*, neglected his Advice and would not Intrench, which gave the Enemy an opportunity of taking the advantage of him, and cutting him off. The Insurrection of the *Basorians* against *Hejage* gave the *Azarikites* great Encouragement at first, who hoped to make the best use of their mutual Dissentions; but after that Tumult was quelled, they found themselves disappointed.

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 76.
cœpit April 21.
A. C. 695.

³ But the greatest Opposition that *Hejage* ever met with in the whole course of his Life, was begun by *Shebib* a *Karegite*, and *Salebb* another Sectary, who having been both on Pilgrimage at *Meccah* in the seventy fifth Year, when *Abdolmélick* was there, formed a Conspiracy against him. The *Caliph* being informed of it, sent to *Hejage* to seize them ; but notwithstanding his Vigilance *Salebb* staid very secure for a Months space at *Cufah*, where he concerted Measures with his Friends, and provided all things necessary for his Undertaking. His Sect were called the *Safrians*, and he was the first of them that ever appeared openly in Arms ; he was a Man much given to Devotion, and had a great many Followers both in *Mausal* and *Mesopotamia* to whom he used to read and expound the *Alcoran*. Some of his Auditors desired that he would send them a Copy of what they once heard him deliver ; he condescended to their Request, and it was as followeth.

“ ⁴ Praise be to God, who hath created the
“ Heavens and the Earth, and appointed the
“ Darknefs and the Light ; they that deny the
“ Faith make an equal to the Lord. O God ! as
“ for us we will not make any equal to thee, nor
“ will we hasten but to thee, nor will we serve

³ An. Heg. 76. cœpit April 21. A. C. 695.
Chap. vi. ver. 1.

⁴ *Alcoran*

“ any

“ any besides thee. To thee belong the Creation
 “ and the Government, and from thee come
 “ good and hurt, and to thee ⁶ we must go.
 “ And we testify that *Mahomet* is thy Servant,
 “ and thy Apostle whom thou hast singled out,
 “ and thy Prophet whom thou hast chosen, and
 “ in whom thou hast delighted, that he should
 “ convey thy Message, and thy Warning to thy
 “ Servants; and we bear Witness that he con-
 “ veyed the Message, and admonished the People,
 “ and invited to the Truth, and stood in Righte-
 “ ousness, and helped Religion, and made War
 “ upon the ⁷ Associators, till God took him,
 “ upon whom be Peace. I exhort you to trust
 “ in God, and to abstain from the present World,
 “ and to desire the other, and frequently to re-
 “ member Death, and to love the Believers, and
 “ to separate your selves from the Conversation
 “ of evil Doers. For Abstinence from the pre-
 “ sent World increaseth the desire of the Ser-
 “ vant towards that which is with God, and
 “ causeth his Body to be at leisure to obey God;
 “ and the frequent Remembrance of Death
 “ maketh the Servant stand in fear of his Lord,
 “ so as to be moved with Love towards him,
 “ and to humble himself before him. The se-
 “ parating from evil Doers, is a Law to the

Abdolméllick
 An. Heg. 76.
 cepit April 21.
 A. C. 695.

⁶ *Arab.* Is the going. ⁷ So they call all Idolaters and
 Christians, as joining Partners with God.

Abdalmélick " *Muslemans*, God most high faith in his Book,
 An. Heg. 76. " ⁴ *Never pray for any of them that are dead,*
capit April 21. " *nor stand at his Grave, for they denied God*
A.C. 695. " *and his Apostle, and died doing Evil.* And the
 " love of the Faithful is a means whereby the
 " Favour of God is attained, and his Mercy
 " and his Paradise, (God make us and you of
 " the Number of those that bear Witness to the
 " Truth, and persevere.) Now it is of the
 " gracious doing of God towards the Believers,
 " that he sent them an Apostle of their own,
 " who taught them the Book and Wisdom, and
 " cleansed them, and purified them, and kept
 " them in their Religion, and was gentle and
 " merciful to the Faithful, till God took him,
 " the Blessing of God be upon him. Then the
 " ⁵ Verifier succeeded him with the good liking
 " of the *Muslemans*, and governed according to
 " his Direction and Tradition, till he went to
 " God, God be merciful to him. He left *Omar*
 " his Successor, and God made him the Go-
 " vernour of this Flock, and he managed by the
 " Book of God, and revived the Tradition of
 " the Apostle of God; neither did he cease to
 " do Justice to the People committed to his

⁴ *Alcoran*, Chap. ix. 85. ⁵ *Arab. Assiddik*. It is the Sur-
 name of *Abubeker*, which *Mahomet* gave him because he
 verified or asserted the Truth of *Mahomet's* Journey to
 Heaven in the Night.

" Charge,

“ Charge, nor feared any Accufation in the
 “ Caufe of God till he went to him, God have
 “ mercy upon him. After him *Othman* govern-
 “ ed the *Muslemans*, and he purfued a Shadow,
 “ and broke down the Bounds, and perverted
 “ Judgement, and weakened the Faithful, and
 “ ftrengthened the Wicked, and the *Muslemans*;
 “ went to him and killed him, and God and
 “ his Apoftle are clear of him. And after him
 “ the People agreed to give the Government to
 “ *Ali* the Son of *Abu Taleb*, who did not make
 “ it his Bufinefs to judge according to the Com-
 “ mand of God to Men; but joined himfelf to
 “ erroneous People, and was fixed amongst
 “ them and played the Hypocrite; and we are
 “ clear of *Ali* and his Sectaries. Wherefore pre-
 “ pare your felves, (God have mercy upon you)
 “ with Alacrity for the holy War, againft thefe
 “ jarring People, and thefe erroneous and un-
 “ juft *Imams*; and for the going out of this
 “ tranfitory Mansion, to the Mansion that fhall
 “ remain; and for the being joined to your Bre-
 “ thren the Faithful who have certain Affur-
 “ ance; who fold the prefent World for the
 “ other, and laid out their Subftance in queft
 “ of the Favour of God in the latter end. Nei-
 “ ther be afraid of being killed for the fake of
 “ God; for the being killed is eafier than Death;
 “ and Death cometh upon you quicker than
 “ Thought,

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 An. Heg. 76.
 cepit April 21.
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“ Thought, and makes a Separation between
“ you and your Children, and your Families,
“ and your present World, notwithstanding
“ your exceeding Aversion to it, and your fear
“ of it : Wherefore sell your selves and your
“ Substance in Obedience to God, that you may
“ securely enter into Paradise, and embrace the
“ Black-eyed Girls. God make us and you thank-
“ ful, and full of Remembrance, such as are di-
“ rected in the Truth, and do that which is
“ right according to it.”

Once when he was amongst his Friends, he broke out into these Expressions, “ What do you stay for ? How long will you stand still ? For, this Iniquity hath spread it self, and this Injustice is grown to an exceeding vast exorbitant height and distance from the Truth in defiance of the Lord. Wherefore let us come to some Resolution, and see what is to be done.” In the midst of these Speeches there came a Letter from *Shebib* to *Salehb*, to acquaint him that since he had complied with his Request, in making an attempt upon the present Powers, he desired to be informed in what Condition his Affairs were ; that he thought there was no time to be lost ; that he was not sure he should not be overtaken by Death before he had an opportunity of being engaged in a holy War, against these wicked ones. *Salehb* returned Answer, that he waited only

only for him ; that his delay had raised in him some Suspicion ; that they were making all necessary Preparations, and staid for nothing but his coming. *Shebib* gathered together his small Company and joined *Salehb* in *Dara'liezirah*, over which *Mohammed Ben Merwan* was Governour. They seized some of his Horses in a neighbouring Village, upon which they mounted their Foot. *Mohammed* soon received Intelligence of their March, but despised the smallness of their Number (which did not exceed one Hundred and twenty) and commanded *Adi* to go against them with five Hundred Men, who begged his Excuse, and told him that he knew that one of their Men was as good as an Hundred of theirs, and that it was unreasonable to send him with such an unequal Force ; then *Mohammed* ordered him Five hundred more : So he marched from *Harrad* with this Thousand, as unwilling as if he had been led to the Place of Execution. When he drew near to *Salehb*, he sent a Messenger to let him know that he was not for fighting, and if he would depart out of that Territory, and invade some other, he would not oppose him. *Salehb* said to the Messenger, Go and tell him, that if he is of our Opinion it shall be so, but if he be in the Measures of the Tyrants, and the *Imàms* of Enmity, we know what to do. To which *Adi* answered,

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 76.
capit April 21.
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Abdalmélick swered, that he was not of his Opinion, but that
 An. Heg. 76. he did not come to fight either against him, or
 cepit April 21. or any one else. *Salebb* had no sooner received
 A. C. 695. this Answer, but he rode full speed and surpris-
 ed *Adi* saying the Noon Prayers, who suspected
 nothing of the matter, till he saw the Horse just
 coming upon him; his Men were all out of
 order, and put to the Rout without any Resist-
 ance. He trampled down *Adi* and his Standard
 as he was at Prayers, and moving directly to his
 Camp, took Possession of all that was in it.
 They that escaped carried this sad News to *Mo-*
hammed, who was very anrgy, and sent *Caled* the
 Son of *Jora* with One Thousand five Hundred
 Men, and *Hareth* with One Thousand five Hun-
 dred more. ⁶ Calling them both together, he
 bad them go out against these wicked Separatists,
 and to add to their speed, told them that he that
 came up with the Enemy first should command
 the other. Enquiring after *Salebb* they were in-
 formed that he was marched towards *Amed*;
 they kept equal pace, and towards the Evening
 came up with *Salebb*, who sent *Shebid* against
Hareth, whilst he charged the other General
 himself. The Victory was dubious a long time,
 notwithstanding the Disproportion of the Num-
 bers; for one of the Separatists could beat ten
 or twenty of the other; at last *Caled* and *Hareth*

⁶ MS. Laud. Num. 161. A.

perceiving that their Horse were repulsed ; alighted and fought on Foot ; this quite altered the Condition of the Battel ; for by this means they supported themselves with their Lances against the Enemies Horse, and at the same time their Archers galled them, and the remainder of their Horse trampled them down. Thus they continued fighting till Night parted them, at which time *Salehb* had lost thirty Men, and *Caled* and *Hareth* more than Threescore and ten. Both Parties were sufficiently weary of one another, for the Battel was very sharp the time it lasted, and a great many were Wounded on both sides. After they were parted and retired to their respective Camps, having said their Prayers, and refreshed themselves with such Fragments as they had, *Salehb* asked *Shebib* his Advice, who told him that they were over-matched, and that the Enemy would by intrenching themselves prevent any Attempt against them. Upon this they Decamped under the Protection of the Night, and marched across over *Mesopotamia* till they came to *Mausil*, and from thence to a place called *Dascarab*, where *Hejage* having received Intelligence of their approach, sent a Body of Five Thousand Men against them, under the Command of *Hareth Alhamdani*. Three Thousand of them were *Cusians* of the old Soldiers, and the other two Thousand were chosen Men.

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An. Heg. 76.
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Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 76.
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Men. Whilst they were marching to *Dascarah*, *Salebb*, was gone to *Jalouta* and *Catikin*; *Albareth* pursued him to a Place called *Modbage*, that lies upon the Borders of *Mausil*, between *Mausil* and *Fuchi*. There they engaged. *Salebb* had then with him no more than ninety Men, these he divided into three Companies, Thirty in each: In a short time *Salebb* was killed. *Shebib* was beaten off of his Horse, and fought on Foot till he came to the Place where *Salebb* lay dead; whereupon he called out to the *Muslemans* to come to him, for they had no Commander left, and bad them turn Back to Back, and make their Retreat to a neighbouring empty Castle: This they performed in exceeding good Order, for Seventy of them got in safe. *Hareth* surrounded them in the Evening, and bad his Men only set fire to the Castle-Gates, and so leave them there till the Morning, where they might be sure to find them. *Shebib* knew very well that what was to be done must be done by the favour of the Night, because it would be absurd to expect that they should be able to defend themselves against such a Force in the Morning; and his Men having first given him their hands in token of their Submission; the Gates of the Castle being burnt to Coals, they wetted their Saddle Cloths and spreading them over the Coals slept over. *Hareth* and his Men

were

were in their Camp without any Apprehension of danger, till about Midnight they found *Shebib* and his Men cutting all to pieces in the midst of the Camp. *Hareth* himself was struck down, but his Men carried him off the Ground, and ran away in the greatest Confusion and Consternation. This is the first Victory that *Shebib* got; which added such Courage to his Party that they daily increased, and became terrible to *Hejage* himself, who never omitted any Endeavour to extirpate them. After a great many Battels, wherein *Shebib* was always Superior, whilst *Hejage* was gone to *Basorah* he seized the City of *Cufah*.

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 76.
œpit April 21.
A. C. 695.

This Year *Mohalleb* died, whom *Hejage* had made Governour of *Chorasan*: He was a Person of extraordinary Character, both for his Abilities and generosity of Temper. When he felt Death approaching, he called his Sons about him and gave them a bundle of Arrows to break, which they told him they could not: He asked them next if they could break them singly, they answered Affirmatively, he bad them imagine themselves to be like that bundle of Arrows.

³ This Year *Abdalmélick* caused the first Money to be Coined that ever was in use among the *Arabians* of their own; for before they used to trade with *Greek* and *Persian* Money. The

³ *Ebnol Athîr*. MS. *Poc.* Num. 137.

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occasion was thus. *Abdolmélick* used to write in the beginning of the Letters that he sent to the Greek Emperor, *Say, God is one.*⁴ Or, *Say, there is one God*; and then mention the Prophet with the date of the *Hegirah*: Whereupon the *Gre-cian* Emperour sent him Word, that he had made such and such Innovations in his manner of writing, and bad him alter it, or else he would send him some Coins with such a mention of their Prophet upon them, as they should not very well like. *Abdolmélick* was angry at this, and said *A Curse upon their Coins*; and from that time began to make Money. *Hejage* stamped some with this Inscription, *Say, there is one God*, which gave great offence to the *Muslemans*, because the Sacred Name of GOD would be exposed to the Touch of unclean Persons of both Sexes. *Somyor* a *Jew* regulated their Coinage, which was but rude at first, after whom it received several Improvements in the succeeding Reigns.

⁵ Now though *Shebib* had beaten the Army which *Hejage* had sent against him, and made such a vigorous Opposition, that the *Cusians* were not able to keep the Field; yet *Hejage*, resolved not to bear his Insults any longer, re-

⁴ *Alcoran*. Where God is introduced speaking so to *Mahomet*. ⁵ *An. Heg. 77. cœpit April 9. A. C. 696. MS. Laud. Num. 161. A.*

presented the Condition of that part of the Country to the *Caliph Abdolmélick*, who reinforced him with a sufficient Number of *Syrians*, with which he gave *Shebib* Battel near *Cufab*. *Shebib* made a noble Defence, having in all but six hundred Men, but was forced at last to give way to the *Syrians*, whom *Hejage* was scarce able to hold up against him. At last *Shebib's* Brother was killed and his Wife *Gazálah*, who had attended him when he went first to *Cufab*, and made a Vow to say her Prayers in the great Temple, and read the *Cow* and the *Family of Amram* there (they are the Second and Third Chapters of the *Alcoran*) which she had accordingly performed: A Body of *Syrians* pursued *Shebib*, who killed an hundred of them with the loss of only thirty of his own Men. Some of them were so tired with their March and the Fight, that when they struck with their Swords they could not carry an Edge; and some of them struck as they sat, because they were not able to rise. In this condition *Shebib* despairing of doing any thing left them, and passing over the *Tigris* went towards *Juchi*: Afterwards re-passing the *Tigris* at ¹ *Waset*, he bent his Course towards *Ebwaz*; from thence into *Persia*, and so on to *Kerman*, where he rested and refreshed

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¹ This is by way of *Prolepsis*, for *Waset* was not then built. *Abno'l Athir*.

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cæpit April 9.
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himself and his Men: In the mean time *Hejage* ordered his Wife *Gazálab's* Head to be washed and buried. Soon after *Shebib* began to advance forwards again, against whom *Hejage* sent *Sophyan* the Son of *Alabrad*, whom *Abdolmélick* had sent to his assistance out of *Syria*. They met at a Bridge called *Dojail el Ebwaz*. *Shebib* passed the Bridge first, and after a sharp Encounter was repulsed. Returning again he renewed the Battel with Vigour, but was beaten back; and when he came to the Bridge he made a Stand with about an hundred Men, who fought so bravely till the Evening that the *Syrians* never felt themselves so handled before. *Sophyan* perceiving that he could do nothing against them, commanded the Archers to shoot them, which they did for a while, till *Shebib* and his Men rushed in upon them with their Swords and killed above thirty of them; and then wheeling about he fell upon *Sophyan*, and they continued fighting desperately till Night, and then retreating, *Sophyan* commanded his Men not to pursue them. When *Shebib* came to the Bridge, he commanded his Men to go over before him, resolving to renew the Fight in the Morning. He brought up the Rear, and as he was upon the Bridge his Horse leaped upon a Mare that was before him and loosned the Stones of the Bridge. *Shebib's* Foot striking at the same time upon the

Edge of a Boat, he was dismounted and fell into the Water. ⁸ When he rose up he said, *When God decrees a thing it is done.* Then putting up his Head a Second time he said, *This is the Decree of the Almighty the Allwise [God!]* These were the last Words of that great Captain, concerning whose Mother they relate this remarkable Story.

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⁹ *Yezid* the Son of *Naim* was sent by *Othman's* command to assist the *Syrian Mahometans* against the *Greeks* in the twenty fifth year of the *Hegirah*. The *Muslemans* obtaining the Victory the Christians were exposed to Sale. Among the rest he espied a tall, beautiful, black-eyed Maid which he bought, and having brought her to *Cusab* commanded her to turn *Mahometan*, and upon her Refusal caused her to be beaten: This only increased her Aversion towards him, so that he was glad to let her alone to bring her to a good Humour. Afterwards she proved with Child of *Shebib*, and her Fondness to her Master increasing daily, she turned *Mahometan* of her own accord; because she knew it would be agreeable to him. So that she changed her Religion before *Shebib* was born, which was on the tenth of the Month *Dulbagiah*, being the day on which the Pilgrims kill the Sacrifices at *Meccah*.

⁸ *Elmakin.* ⁹ MS. *Laud.* Num. 161. A. *Ebnöl Athir.*
MS. *Poc.* Num. 137.

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An. Heg. 77.
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Awaking out of a Slumber she said, I saw, as one that sleeps sees, that there went out from before me a Flame which diffused it self round about the Heavens, and spread it self to every quarter; after which a Coal dropt into a great Water and was quenched; now I have brought him forth upon the day wherein you shed Blood; and I interpret my Dream thus, That this Son of mine will be a Man of Blood, and that his Condition will be exalted to a very high degree in a short time. Hearing a false Rumour once of his being killed she gave no Credit to it, but as soon as she heard he was drowned she believed it, saying that she knew from the time of his Birth that he would come to no other End.

His Body being drawn up with a Net, they cut off his Head and sent it to *Hejage*; when he was opened they found his Heart prodigiously firm and hard like a Stone.

In the eighty first year died *Mohammed Ben Hanipbiyah* the third Son of *Ali*, who because he was not descended from *Mahomet* as *Hasan* and *Hosein* were is not reckoned amongst the *Imàms*, notwithstanding there were several of his Followers who secretly owned him to be lawful *Caliph* after *Hosein's* Death. Some of the Sectaries look upon him as a great Prophet whom God hath taken and preserved alive in a

An Heg. 81. cæpit Feb. 25. A. C. 700.

cer-

¹ certain Mountain; and that he shall hereafter appear again and fill the Earth with Justice and Piety, as it is at present full of Impiety and Wickedness.

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 82.
cæpit Feb. 14.
A. C. 701.

² From the time of *Shebib's* Death the *Saracen* Empire was free from any Disturbance within it self, till the eighty second year, when *Abdorrhman* the Son of *Mohammed* raised a very dangerous Commotion in the Eastern part of it upon this occasion. *Hejage*, who hated him, sent him with an inconsiderable Force against *Zentil* King of the *Turks*, with orders to carry the War into the midst of his Country, with a malicious design to destroy him. *Abdorrhman* received secret Intelligence of his barbarous Intentions towards him, and soon acquainted his Men with the Meaning of the Expedition they were engaged in. The Soldiers were all in a Rage to find themselves so basely betrayed, and under a pretence of going to War sent on purpose to be murdered, and fall a Sacrifice to *Hejage's* Malice against their General: They vowed Revenge, and unanimously swore to be true to *Abdorrhman*, and renouncing all manner of Subjection to *Hejage*, prepared themselves to revenge his Perfidiousness. *Abdorrhman*, having first concluded a Peace with the *Turk*, returned into *Irak* and marched directly against *Hejage*,

¹ *Redwa*. ² An Heg. 82. cæpit Feb. 14. A. C. 701.

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 82.
cœpit Feb. 14.
A. C. 701.

who being before informed of it had petitioned *Abdolmélick* for Succours out of *Syria*, who sent him a considerable Army. With these Supplies *Hejage* marches against him, but being beaten in the first Battle, *Abdorrahmàn* carries his Victorious Army to *Basorah*, where a great many of the Citizens throwing off their Allegiance to *Abdolmélick*, took the Oath to him, and Intrenching themselves on one side of the City, they soon obtained a second Victory over their Enemies. From thence he went to *Cusab*, where he was so far from meeting with any Opposition that the Citizens came out of their own accord to meet him, and took the Oath of Allegiance. In the mean time *Hejage* gathered together all the Forces he was able; and *Abdorrahmàn's* Army on the other side was increased to the number of an hundred thousand Men, among whom were several of Prime Note among the *Basorians*, who had conceived an Aversion against *Hejage* upon the account of his Cruelty. They encamped ⁶ near one another; and in the space of an hundred days fought fourscore and one Battles. At last *Hejage* put *Abdorrahmàn* to flight, and cut off four thousand of his Men. *Abdorrahmàn* retreated to *Sabàn*, where being seized by *Hejage's* Lieutenant who was going to him;

⁶ *Hejage* in *Dairkorrah* and *Abdorrahmàn* in *Dairalimaim*.

Zentil the Turk, his Friend and Ally, having received notice of it came to his Rescue; but upon his being ⁵ threatened with a War by *Hejage* in case he refused to deliver him up, he was forced to part with him. *Abdorrhahmàn* having now no remedy left, and abhorring the thoughts of falling into the hands of his most implacable Enemy, took an opportunity of killing himself by a fall from the top of an high House.

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 82.
cœpit Feb. 14.
A. C. 701.

⁶ In the eighty third year *Hejage* built a City upon the River *Tigris* which he called *Waset*, from its lying in the Middle between *Basorab* and *Cufab*, that being the Signification of the Arabick Word. ⁷ The *Persian* Geographer says, that it is Situate at an equal distance from *Bagdad*, *Cufab*, *Ebwaz* and *Básorab*, that is, about fifty Leagues from each of them.

Now though *Hejage* survived *Abdolmélick* and managed all the chief Affairs for some time under his Son *Waled*, yet since we must terminate this part of our History with the Reign of this *Caliph* (which was designed to have been carried down to the Line of the *Abbasides*) and it being very uncertain whether or no we shall ever have either Opportunity or Inclination to continue it any farther; before we take our leave of this great Man, by whose Vigilancy, Courage,

⁵ *Abu'lpheda*. ⁶ An. Heg. 83. cœpit Feb. 3. A. C. 702.

⁷ *D'Herbelot in Vasseth*.

Abdolméllick
An. Heg. 87.
cæpit Feb. 3.
A. C. 702.

and Conduct the *Saracen* Empire was perfectly quieted and firmly established under the Government of the house of *Ommiyah*, it will not be amiss to relate a few Instances illustrating the Greatness and Singularity of his Genius.

° One day as he was taking a Walk in the Field, he met with a wild *Arab* who knew nothing at all of him, and asked him what sort of a Man this *Hejage* was whom they talked of so much. The *Arab* answered that he was a wicked Man. Then said *Hejage*, do you not know me? The *Arab* answering No; I would have you to know then, said *Hejage*, that it is *Hejage* you are talking to now.

The *Arab* having heard him talk after this manner, without expressing any manner of concern said to him; And do you know who I am? No, answered *Hejage*: I am, said the *Arab*, of the Family of *Zobeir*, whose Posterity all become Fools three days in the Year, and this is one of them. *Hejage* could not forbear laughing and admiring such an ingenious Come-off as this: So that though he was extremely severe and reckoned cruel, for they say he had put to Death an Hundred and twenty Thousand Persons, and when he died had fifty Thousand in his Prisons; yet he pardoned this *Arab*, whom he esteemed for his Wit and Courage.

° *D'Herbelot* in *Hejage*.

Now

Now see another Accident, wherein *Hejage* shewed plainly what he was. Having taken a great many Officers Prisoners in the Battel which he gained over *Abdorrhahmàn*; he resolved to put them all to the Sword. One of the Prisoners, just as he was going to be Executed, cried out that he had a piece of Justice to demand of *Hejage*:

Abdormélick
An. Heg. 88.
cæpit Feb. 3.
A.C. 702.

Hejage, very much surpris'd at what he said, asked him what he had to demand of him? The Prisoner answered, It is because when our General *Abdorrhahmàn* railed against you after an extravagant manner, I told him he was in the wrong. Upon this *Hejage* asked the Prisoner if he had any body to witness his saying so. Yes, answered the Prisoner; and shewed him one of his Comrades condemned to Death as well as himself, who was present when he said it. *Hejage* being satisfied of the truth of the Fact, said to the Witness, And what is the reason you did not do so as well as your Comrade? This undaunted Man answered him fiercely, I did not do it because you are my Enemy. *Hejage* gave them both their Lives; the one to acknowledge his Obligation; the other for having confessed the Truth with so much Frankness and Courage.

Some People having complained of the Cruelty of his Behaviour towards his Subjects, and
set

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 83.
cepit Feb. 3.
A. C. 702.

set the fear of God before his Eyes; he instantly mounted the Pulpit to harangue the People, and without any Preparation discoursed them after this manner, with his ordinary Eloquence.

“ God hath at present given me the Power over
“ you, and if I exercise it with some Severity,
“ do not you believe that you shall be upon bet-
“ ter Terms after my Decease! After the man-
“ ner that you live you will always be ill used;
“ for God hath a great many Servants, and when
“ I shall be dead he will send you another, who
“ may possibly execute his Commands against
“ you with greater Severity. Would you have
“ a Prince sweet and moderate? Exercise Ju-
“ stice among your selves and obey his Orders.
“ Depend upon it that the Behaviour of your
“ selves is the Principle, and the Cause of the
“ good or ill Treatment which you receive at
“ his Hands. The Prince may justly be com-
“ pared to a Looking-glass; all that you see in
“ the Glass is nothing but the return of the Ob-
“ jects you present to it.”

Once when he was a Hunting, he lost his Company, and found himself very thirsty in a lonesome Place, where an *Arab* was feeding his Camels. As soon as he appeared the Camels were scared away, which made the *Arab*, who was minding something else, lift up his Head in a great Passion and say, Who is this with his
fine

fine Cloaths that comes here in the Defart to scare my Camels, the Curfe of God light upon him.

Abdolvéllick
An. Heg. 83.
cæpit Feb. 3.
A. C. 702.

Hejage without taking notice of what he said came up to him, and faluted him very civilly, wifhing him Peace; but he inftead of returning his Salutation answered him roughly, that he neither wifhed him Peace, nor any Bleffing of God. *Hejage* feemed not to underftand him, and begged of him fome Water to Drink. The *Arab* told him, that if he had a mind to Drink, he might alight and help himfelf, for he was neither his Fellow nor his Man: *Hejage* did as he bad him, and having drunk asked him this Queftion, Whom do you believe to be the greateft and moft excellent of all Men? It is the Prophet fent by God, (burft you) faid the *Arab*. And what do you fay of *Ali*, added *Hejage*? The *Arab* answered, His Excellency cannot be fufficiently expreffed in Words. *Hejage* continuing his Difcourfe asked what he thought of *Abdolvéllick*! The *Arab* made no Answer at firft, but being preffed he let fall as much as if he took him to be a bad Prince. Why fo, answered *Hejage*? Because he has fent us for a Governour the wickedeft Man under the Heavens.

Hejage, knowing that the *Arab* fpoke of him, faid no more; when it happened that a Bird flying over their Heads made a fort of Noife, which

Abdolv mélick which the *Arab* had no sooner heard, but he
 An.Heg. 83. looked stedfastly upon *Hejage*, and asked him
 cœpit Feb. 3. who he was. *Hejage* having asked him what
 A. C. 702. was the Reason of that Question; It is, said the
Arab, because this Bird that went by told me
 that there was a Company of People not far off,
 and that very likely you are the Chief of them.
 The *Arab* had no sooner made an end of his
 Discourse, when *Hejage* his People came up, and
 received Order from him to carry the *Arab* along
 with them.

The Day after, *Hejage* called for him, and
 made him sit down at his Table, and command-
 ed him to eat; the *Arab*, before he began to
 eat, said his usual Grace, *God grant that the end*
of this Meal may be as fortunate as the begin-
ning.

Whilst they were eating, *Hejage* asked him
 if he remembered the Discourse that had passed
 between them the Day before. The *Arab* an-
 swered him immediately; God prosper you in
 every thing, but as for Yesterday's Secret, take
 care you do not divulge it to Day. That I will,
 said *Hejage*; but you must chuse one of these
 two things, either to acknowledge me for your
 Master, and then I will retain you in my Ser-
 vice; or else to be sent to *Abdolv mélick*, to whom
 I shall give an account of all that you have said
 of him. The *Arab* having heard *Hejage's* Pro-

posaf answered him instantly : There is a third way you may take, which seems to me to be much better. What is that, said *Hejage*? It is, said the *Arab*, to send me Home, and that you and I may never see one another any more. *Hejage*, as fierce as he was, was pleased to hear the Man talk with so much Spirit, and gave him ten Thousand Drachms of Silver, and sent him home according to his Desire.

Abdolmélick
An.Heg. 83.
capit Feb. 3.
A. C. 702.

It is proper to observe here, upon the occasion of this Bird that made it self be understood by the *Arabian*, that there are Folks among the People of *Arabia* that pretend to know the Language of Birds. They say that this Science has been known amongst them ever since the time of *Solomon*, and the Queen of *Sheba*, who had a Bird call *Húdbud*, that is the Houp, who was the Messenger of their Amours.

Kumeil the Son of *Ziyad* was a Man of fine Wit. He lived in the time of *Hejage*, and did by no means approve of his Conduct. One Day *Hejage* made him come before him, and reproached him, because in such a Garden, and before such and such Persons, which he named to him, he had made a great many Imprecations against him, saying, *The Lord blacken his Face*, that is, *Fill him with Shame and Confusion*, and wished that his Neck was cut off, and his Blood shed.

Kumeil,

Abdolv mélick
An. Heg. 83.
cæpit Feb. 3.
A. C. 701.

Kumeil who had a very ready Wit, answered him instantly ; It is true that I did say these Words in such a Garden, but then I was under a Vine-Arbour, and was looking upon a Bunch of Grapes that was not yet ripe, and I wished that they would turn Black soon, that they might be cut off and made Wine of. This ingenious Explication pleased *Hejage* so well, that he sent *Kumeil* home, and re-established him in his Favour.³

¹ *Ebn Corrah*, a Person celebrated for his Piety and his Learning, and whose Father had been one of the Companions of the Apostle, was very well acquainted with him. One Day when he was with him, the Porter came out and told them, that there was a *Kateb* or Secretary at the Gate ; and which *Ebn Corrah* said, These Secretaries are the worst of all sorts of People. Nevertheless the Secretary came in and was well received by *Hejage*, who after he had dismissed him, said to *Ebn Corrah*, Were it not for the Title of *Companion of Mahomet* that is in your Family, I would make your Neck be cut off : For the *Alcoran* says, Honour the Writers. *Ebn Corrah* answered him immediately, I speak of the Secretaries of the *Divàn*, and not of the Angels which are called Writers in the *Alcoran*, because they write the Actions of Men to produce them at the last Judgment.

² *D'Herbelot* in *Corrah*.

* It is reported that *Hejage*, to excuse the Severity which he exercised over those that were under him, used frequently to say; that the severe or even violent Government of a Prince, is better than a weak and too indulgent Government; because that only doth wrong to some particular Persons, whereas this other hurts and injures all the People in general.

Abdolmelick
An. Heg. 83.
capit Feb. 3.
A. C. 702.

He also used to say, that the Obedience due to Princes is more absolute and necessary, than that which Men owe to God; according to the *Alcoran*, for that speaking of this latter says, *Obeý God as far as you are able*: In which Words there is a Condition or Exception: But of that which concerns Princes it is said, *Hear and obey*, without any Exception: So that, said he, if I command any one to submit to such or such a thing, and he refuses it, he is guilty of Disobedience, and consequently worthy of Death.

Some having heard him talk after this manner, said to him: Then you are an envious and an ambitious Man, because you pretend to have a greater Authority than others. To which he answered; He is still more envious and ambitious than me, who says to God, *Give me, O Lord, a Condition of Life which no body can enjoy after me.*

* *Idem* in *Hegjage*.

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 83.
cæpit Feb. 3.
A. C. 702.

Having once recommended himself to the Prayers of a Religious *Musleman*, he instantly prayed that it would please God to kill him quickly, for, said he, there can nothing fall out better either for him or for the People.

Mircond writes that when he was taken to his Bed of his last Sickness, he consulted his Astrologer to know of him, if he did not find in his Ephemerides that some great Captain was near the end of his Days. The Astrologer answered him, that a great Lord called *Kolaib* was threatened according to his Observations to die quickly. *Hejage* replied, That is exactly the Name that my Mother gave me when I was a Child. This word signifies in the *Arabick*, a little Dog.

The Astrologer, no less imprudent in his Discourse, than skilful in his Art, went on very bluntly saying, Then it is you that must die, you have no room to doubt it. *Hejage*, offended at this Discourse, said instantly to the Astrologer, Since I must die, and you are so dextrous in your Predictions, I will send you before me into the other World, that I may make use of you : and gave order at the same time to have him dispatched.

The same Author places the Death of *Hejage* in the Ninety fifth Year of the *Hegirah*, and the Fifty fourth of his Age ; and says of him, that
he

he was born shut up at the Bottom; so that they were forced to open him with Surgeons Instruments.

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 83.
œpit Feb. 3.
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They say that he was so magnificent in his Entertainments, that he had sometimes a thousand Tables furnished, and that he used to make such large Presents to his Friends, as to give a Million of Pieces of Silver at one time.

Abùlpheragius observes, that he fell sick with eating Dirt. That Dirt is a sort of Medicinal Clay, called by the Latins *Terra Lemnia*, and by the *Arabians*, *Tbîn*, and *Tbîn Mechtoum*, *Lutum* & *Lutum sigillatum*; this threw him into a Consumption of which he died. Thus much concerning *Hejage* out of *Monsieur D'Herbelot*.

² In the Eighty sixth Year of the *Hegirah* *Abdalmélick* died. The Physicians had told him, that if he drank he would die; but his Thirst increased so violently, that he was not able to forbear any longer, but commanded his Son *Waled* to give him some Water, which he refusing he commanded his Daughter *Phatemah*; but *Waled* willing to keep him alive as long as he could, held her, and would not suffer it. Whereupon *Abdalmélick* told him in a Passion, that if he did not let her go, he would disinheri-
rit him: So she gave him Water, and he quick-

² An Heg. 86. œpit Jan 1. A. C. 705. *Ebnol Athir*.

Abdalmélick
An. Heg. 86.
cœpit Jan 1.
A.C. 705.

ly expired. He died in the middle of the Month *Shewâl*: But he was always afraid of the Month *Ramadan*, and used to say he should die in it; because he was born in it, and weaned in it, and had learned the *Alcoran* by Heart in it, and in it was saluted Emperor.

¹ This *Caliph* having dreamt one Night, that he made Water in the most sacred Part of the Temple of *Meccah*; and this Dream happening four times successively; *Saad*, a Man excellently skilled in the Interpretation of Dreams, told him that four of his Children should enjoy the *Caliphate* one after another; which accordingly came to pass.

He had two Nicknames given him, the one was the ² *Sweat of a Stone*, because of his extreme Covetousness; the other was ³ *Father of Flies*, upon the account of his stinking Breath, which was so nauseous that it killed all the Flies that light upon his Lips.

The Inscription of his Seal was, *I believe in God our Saviour.*

Abu'lpbeda says, that he was a Man of Foresight, and of very good Capacity and Understanding; he was courageous, learned and wise; but his being made *Caliph* quite turned him, and spoiled all his good Qualities.

¹ *Elmakin D'Herbelot.* ² *Arab. Rafbhòl Hejer.* ³ *Abou't Zebàb.*

He died in the sixtieth Year of his Age. He was much more Powerful than any of his Predecessors. He subdued *Abdollah* the Son of *Zobeir*, and added *Arabia* to his Dominions; he entirely quelled all the several sorts of Sectaries that appeared in Arms against him: In his Reign *India* was conquered in the East, and his victorious Arms penetrated even as far as *Spain* in the West.

Abdolmélick
An. Heg. 86.
cæpit Jan. 1.
A. C. 705.

F I N I S.

SENTENCES

OF

A L I

Son-in-Law of MAHOMET,
and his Fourth Successor.

*Translated from an Authentick Arabick Manuscript in
the Bodleian Library at Oxford,*

By SIMON OCKLEY, B.D.

Professor of *Arabick* in the University of CAMBRIDGE,
and Chaplain to the Right Honourable ROBERT
Earl of OXFORD and Earl MORTIMER.

THE P R E F A C E.

*I*F Providence hath removed us to a greater Distance from the influence of those Genial Rays which ripen the Wits of the Eastern Nations, it hath made us abundant Amends, by indulging us in this Conceit, that we are wiser than all the rest of the World besides.

There are some sorts of pleasing Madness, which it would be Cruelty to cure a Man of. By bringing him to his Senses, you make him Miserable.

You will ask me, perhaps, what is the Meaning of all this? Why, in good truth, the Meaning of it is, a just Indignation against the Impertinence of those who imagine that they know every thing, when in reality they understand nothing.

And to be more particular: The Folly of the Westerlings, in despising the Wisdom of the Eastern Nations, and looking upon them as Brutes and Barbarians; whilst we arrogate to ourselves every thing that is Wise and Polite; and if we chance to light upon a just Thought, we applaud our selves upon the Discovery, though it was better understood Three Thousand Years ago.

This

P R E F A C E.

This happens to us through want of good Reading, and a true Way of Thinking ; for the Case is this, That little smattering of Knowledge which we have, is entirely derived from the East. They first communicated it to the Greeks, (a vain, conceited People, who never penetrated into the Depths of Oriental Wisdom) from whom the Romans had theirs. And after Barbarity had spread it self over the Western World, the Arabians, by their Conquests, restored it again in Europe: And it is the wildest Conceit that can be imagined, for us to suppose that we have greater Geniuses, or greater Application, than is to be found in those Countries: if it be allowed that we have of late made greater Advances in the Sciences ; that is not so much to our present Purpose, as the Consideration of Things of Universal Necessity, the Fear of God, the Regulation of our Appetites, prudent Oeconomy, Decency and Sobriety of Behaviour in all Conditions and Emergencies of Life ; in any of which Articles, (which, after all, are the Grand Concern) if the Westerlings have made any, even the least Improvement, to the Eastern Wisdom, I must confess my self to be very much mistaken.

They have their Wisdom by Inheritance, derived from their Fore-fathers through numerous Generations. They are tenacious of their Ancient Customs, and retain the Precepts of their Ancestors ; they couch more solid Wisdom under one single
Apbo-

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Aphorism, than some European Writers would put into a System.

They govern their Families with Prudence and Discretion. We make their Polygamy an Objection against them ; but we must consider that they are not Christians, and therefore continue their Way of Living, after the Patriarchal Manner. But to say no more upon that Point, how would they abhor and abominate the horrible Instances which we have of European Lewdness !

How would they smile, to see a Man jangling it out with his Wife thirty or forty Years together, which of the two should govern the Family ! Others calling Riot and Excess, Impertinence and Rage, good Fellowship ! Another bespeaking a New Suit this Week, lest he should be the Jest of the Town and Country, for being out of Fashion the next ! And some cumbring One House with far-fetched and dear-bought Superfluities, at such an Expence as would provide decent Furniture for Fifty !

Some Persons of Understanding have been of Opinion, that the Wisdom of a Nation may be judged of by the Sententiousness of their Proverbs and Sayings in common use among them : In this the Arabs excell all Nations. As for their Proverbs, strictly so called, in which there is Allusion to some History, Animal, Vegetable, or the like, they cannot be understood without a Comment,
and

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and do not come under our present Consideration. What we here present the Reader with, is a little Collection of Wise Sentences, calculated for the Direction of a Man's Conduct in Affairs of the greatest Consideration, and are of the same Nature as the Proverbs, and Ecclesiasticus.

They are called the Sentences of Ali the Son of Abu Taleb. The whole Book is, as near as I can guess, not much less than our New Testament. I shall not add any more concerning Ali in this Place, because I have written his Life at large: It is the First in the Second Volume of the History of the Saracens.

But I am far from Believing that Ali was the Author of all these Sentences. He might Collect them, for ought I know, and add some more of his own; but this I am sure of, that they savour of much greater Antiquity than the time in which he lived; because he was Contemporary with Mahomet, who flourished in the Year of our Lord Six hundred and twenty two. Perhaps there are some who will not allow the Arabians to have had so much Learning among them at that Time, as to be able to undertake such a Work: But I shall not enter into that Dispute at present.

The Book is a Venerable Piece of Antiquity, and it is Pity but we had it all Translated; which would be difficult to be exactly performed, unless
by

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by a Person who hath had the Advantage of Travelling into the Eastern Countries.

To criticise upon it in the proper manner, One ought to have regard not only to Precepts of that kind, contained in the Old Testament, but whatsoever else can be found that is Jewish, either in Ecclesiasticus, the Talmud, Sentences of Ben Syra, or any other Rabbinical Records. Not that I believe that the Arabians derived their Knowledge from the Jews, but that they were Collateral with them in that respect; and that there are a great many things which they derived from Abraham and Ishmael. The same is to be conceived of the Idumeans, Moabites, and Ammonites, of all which there is no question but there are Remains in Arabia, though now undistinguished.

Which that I may not seem to suggest without any Reason at all, give me Leave to offer this for the Present; That the Contest, before the Time of Alexander the Great, lay between the Eastern Powers and the more Western Parts of Syria, Palestine, Ægypt, and Æthiopia. The Peninsula of Arabia being conterminous, and yet quite out of the Way of those numerous Armies; it is reasonable to suppose that the distressed Inhabitants, through whose Country these Forces were to pass, retired thither. And it was their Custom always, either at the Parting with their Children, and especially upon

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upon their Death-Beds, to recommend to them some few Precepts founded upon their own or their Fore-fathers Experience, which afterwards encreasing, were collected into Volumes by Wise and Learned Men. After the same manner Ecclesiasticus was written, as appears by the Preface of it, and this Arabick one of ours, without all question; but how or by whom, remains yet undiscovered.

The Sentences are full, and to the Purpose: They breathe a Spirit of Devotion, Strictness of Life, and express the greatest Gravity, and a most profound Experience in all the Affairs of Human Life. It is not expected that there should be a Turn, as we call it, in every one of them, nor that we need be surprized at every Line, when we knew from the Divine Books the Contents of it before.

All that I say, is, that there is enough, even in this little Handful, to vindicate, in the Judgment of any Man of Sense, the poor injured Arabians, from the Imputation of that gross Ignorance fastened upon them by Modern Novices.

SENTENCES of *ALI*, Son-in-Law of *MAHOMET*, And his Fourth Successor.

1. **F**EAR God, and thou art secure from every one else.

2. Contradict thyself, and thou shalt find Rest.

3. The Fear of God brightneth the Heart.

4. The best part of Riches, is that which is spent in God's Way.

5. Acquiescence in the Divine Will, is the Healing of the Heart.

6. The Disease of the Heart is in Concupiscence.

7. A Man's Behaviour is the *Index* of the *Man*; and his Discourse is the *Index* of his Understanding.

8. The Covetous Man's Penny is a Stone.

9. One *Fault* is a great Matter; but the *Remembrance* of Divine Things, and a thousand *Obediences*, is but a small Matter.

10. The Remembrance of Youth is a Sigh.

11. The Sight of a Friend brightneth the Eye.

12. Re-

12. Reverence thy Father, and thy Son will reverence thee.

13. The Enjoyment and Delight of Life consisteth in *Security*.

14. The Order of a Wise Man is the Highest of Orders.

15. Thy Lot, or Portion of Life, is seeking after *thee* ; therefore be at rest from seeking after *it*.

16. The restraining the *Soul* [or *Self*] from the *Appetite*, is the greatest *Holy War*.

17. Attend diligently to the Consequences, and thou shalt escape from Slips.

18. The Favour of God is the nearest of all Ends to be obtained.

19. The Favour of God, He be Praised, is joined to the Obedience towards him.

20. Thy Delight in thyself, is from the Corruption of thy Understanding.

21. Thy Delight in the World, is from the Badness of thy Choice, and the Misery of thy Labour.

22. He delights in Contempt, who openeth his Grievance to another.

23. The shewing Mercy to the Afflicted, bringeth down Mercy.

24. He delights in Disappointment, who depends upon bad Men for his Subsistence.

25. I delight more in the *Determination* [or *Opinion*] of a ³ *Religious*, than in the Strength of a *Man*.

26. The *Riding* (*i.e.* Governing) thy Appetite, will procure Riches.

27. The *Riding* the *Appetites* cuts off Mens Observation.

28. A Man's Advice is the Balance of his Understanding.

29. Every Man's Portion is as much determined as his Latter End.

30. A Man's Advice is according to the Measure of his Experience.

31. A Man's Subsistence is according to what he proposeth, *i.e.* according to his Management; because every Action of his Life tends to something or other which contributes either to the encreasing or diminishing him. Not that this can be affirmed of every Action considered abstractedly, but as it connects those Actions together, which necessarily tend to the Determining a Man's Condition of Life.

32. A Man's gentle Behaviour and Liberality make his Enemies love him.

33. A Man's Messenger is the Interpreter of his Meaning; but his Letter is of more Efficacy than his Discourse.

³ In the *Arabick* it is *Ascheick*, which signifies a Professed Doctor, that liveth up to the Strictness of the Law.

34. The *Apostles* of God, *He be Praised*, are the Interpreters of the Truth, and the Ambassadors between the Creator and the Creature.

35. The *Delight* of the ⁷ *Servant* in himself is joined to the Displeasure of his *Lord*.

36. Consider before thou doest any thing, and thou shalt not be blamed in what thou doest.

37. The glittering Ornaments of the World spoil weak Understandings.

38. *Liberality* is the *Cause* of *Love*.

39. *Performing* a Man's *Promise* is the *Cause* of *Unity*.

40. *Abstinence* is the *Cause* of *Pure Religion*.

41. *Concupiscence* is the *Cause* of certain *Destruction*.

42. *Trust in God*, is the *Cause* of *Pure Faith*.

43. *Desire* is the *Cause* of the *Destruction* of the Understanding.

44. The *Love* of the *Present World* is the *Cause* of *Misery*.

45. *Infidelity* is the *Cause* of the *Removal* of *God's Blessing*.

46. Following one's *Anger* is the *Cause* of *Destruction*.

47. *Good Education* is the *Cause* of a *refined Disposition*.

By ⁷ *SERVANT* is meant the *Creature*; by *LORD*, the *Creator*.

48. *Gentleness of Behaviour* is the Cause of Reverence.

49. The *Power of Religion* is the Cause of Abstinence.

50. *Thankfulness* is the Cause of *Encrease*.

51. For the *Soul* to be employed about what shall not accompany it after *Death*, is the greatest *Weakness*.

52. To depend upon every one without *Distinction*, is *Weakness of Understanding*.

53. That is the *Man of Understanding*, that overcometh his *Appetite*, and will not sell HIS WORLD TO-COME, for HIS PRESENT WORLD.

54. He is the *Cunning Man*, that neglects other People, and looks narrowly after himself.

55. *Fear* withholds the *Soul* from Sins, and restrains it from Transgressions.

56. He is an *Understanding Man* that refrains his *Tongue* from Detraction.

57. He is a *Believer* that purifieth his *Heart* from *Doubt*.

58. *Riches* are a *Damage* to the *Owner*, except that *Part* of them which he sends before him.

59. The *World* is the *Shadow* of a *Cloud*, and the *Dream* of *Sleep*.

60. The *truly Pious*, their *Works* are pure, their *Eyes* Weeping, and their *Hearts* Trembling.

61. The *truly Pious*, their *Souls* are contented, and their *Appetites* dead; their *Countenances* *cheerful*, and their *Hearts* *sorrowful*.

62. The *Believer* always remembers *God*, and is full of *Thought* : He is *Thankful* in *Prosperity*, and *Patient* in *Adversity*.

63. Partnership in Possession leadeth to Confusion: Partnership in Counsel leadeth the Right Way.

64. KNOWLEDGE calleth out to PRACTICE; and if it *answereth*, a [WELL:] If *not*, it goeth away.

65. *Things* (or the Affairs of Human Life,) go by *Divine Decree*, not by our Administration.

66. There are two sorts of Patience; the one, by which we bear up in Adversity, which is fine and beautiful; but that Patience whereby we withstand the Commission of Evil is better.

67. A Man's entertaining a mean Opinion of himself, is a Demonstration of the Gravity of his Understanding, and a Branch of the Abundance of his Excellency.

68. A Man's admiring himself, is a Demonstration of his Deficiency, and a Branch of the Weakness of his Understanding.

69. He that is certain of (or firmly believeth) a Future State, is the most melancholy Man, upon his own account, of all Men in the World.

70. He that perishes, is one that busies himself

self beside himself; and whose To-DAY is worse than his YESTERDAY.

71. He is thy true Friend, that takes care of thee as himself, and prefers thee to his Riches, Children, and Wife.

72. He is a Wise Man who can govern himself both in his *Anger, Desire and Fear.*

73. Weeping out of the Fear of God, enlighteneth the Heart, and fortifieth against the Return of Sin.

74. Opportunity is swift of Flight, slow of Return.

75. To make one good Action succeed another [constantly,] is the Perfection of Goodness.

76. Patience in Poverty, with Credit [or a good Reputation,] is better than a plentiful Maintenance with Contempt.

77. A Wise Enemy is better than a Foolish Friend.

78. A Man's Affliction is the Fore-runner of his Prosperity.

79. Men are more like the Time they live in, than they are like their Fathers.

80. A Man that knoweth the just Value of himself doth not perish.

81. The Value of every Man, is the Good which he doth.

82. He that knows himself, knows his Lord.

83. A Man is hid under his Tongue.

84. No Praise with Pride.
85. No Innocency with Covetousness.
86. No Rest where there is Envy.
87. It concerns thee more to fly from thy self, than from a Lyon.
88. He that hath no Courage, hath no Religion.
89. A Wise Man is never Poor.
90. There is no Generosity in a Liar.
91. He that is fearful, will be secure at his Journey's End.
92. No Health with Gluttony:
93. No Generosity of Spirit with a bad Education.
94. A Man governeth his People by doing them good.
95. The Tongue of a Wise Man lieth behind his Heart.
96. The Heart of a Fool lieth behind his Tongue.
97. The Complaisance of a Fool is like a Garden in a Dunghill.
98. Impatience is more irksome than Patience.
99. He that pursueth that which is not convenient for him, loseth that which is convenient for him.
100. A Man that is given to Jestings, will never fail of Hatred nor Contempt.

101. *Despair* is a *Freeman*, *Hope* is a *Slave*.⁴

102. The Opinion of a Wise Man is *Divination*, [or an *Oracle*.]

103. Enmity is Business enough.

104. A Covetous Man doth not live.

105. His Life is long, whose Labour is short.

106. The Pursuit of good Education, is better than the Pursuit of Riches.

107. His *Grief* is long, whose *Hope* is short.

108. Happy is he that hath no Family.

109. It is better that Kings should be Unjust, than Mean-spirited.

110. The Thirst after *Wealth*, is greater than the Thirst after *Drink*.

111. He cheats you, who makes you angry about a Trifle.

112. A Man's Glory from his Virtue, is greater than his Glory from his Pedigree.

113. Your Victory over your Enemy, is your Forbearance.

114. The *Freedom* of a Man consists in speaking *Truth*.⁵

115. The *Strength* of the *Heart*, is from the *Soundness* of the *Faith*.

⁴ So long as a Man is in Expectation, his Thoughts are in Suspence, and he is in a slavish Condition; but as soon as he gives over his Pursuit, he is free, and at Liberty.

⁵ Not that a Man is obliged to speak every Truth that he knows or believes; but that an Habit of speaking Truth, as it flows from, so it naturally supports a Generosity and Freedom of Spirit.

116. The Word of God, is the Medicine of the Heart.

117. Death will rid you of the Faults of the World.

118. There is a Cure for all Enmity, but the Enmity of the Envious Man.

119. Being acquainted with bad Men, is going to Sea.

120. He that holdeth his Peace, doth not repent:

121. He that gives a listening Ear to reproach, is one of those that deserve Reproach.

122. Your being angry, is reproachful before God.

123. The Praise of a Man, is under his Tongue.

124. The Conversation of Young Men is destructive of Religion.

125. A Learned Conversation is the Garden of Paradise.

126. The Destruction of a Man is the Vehemency of his Temper.

127. The Forgetfulness of Death, is the rust of the Heart.

128. The Light of thy Heart is in Prayer in the Darkness of the Night.

129. The Greyness of thy Head, is the ² News of thy own Death.

² That Word which is here translated *News*, is used in a very particularly Emphatical manner ; for it signifies the Report of any Person's Death.

130. Trust in *God*, is the Believer's Castle.

131. *Holy Wars* ³ are the Pillars of Religion, and the Highways of the Happy : And to those that are engaged in them, the Gates of Heaven shall be open.

132. Repentance purifieth the Heart, and washeth away Sin.

133. Men, or Mankind, is divided into Two Parts or Sorts : The One seeketh, and doth not find ; Another findeth, and is not contented.

134. The Good Man liveth, though he be translated to the Mansions of the Dead.

135. The Declining from Evil, is better than the Doing Good.

136. *Knowledge* is the Ornament of the *Rich*, and the Riches of the Poor.

137. He that omitteth Practice, doth not sufficiently believe the Reward that is annexed to it.

138. Clemency in Power, is a Defence against the Vengeance of God, his Name be Praised.

139. The Reverence of God, blotteth out a great many Sins.

140. Resignation to the Providence of God, makes the greatest Afflictions easy.

141. Quarrelling discovereth a Man's Folly, but addeth nothing to the Truth of his Cause.

³ That is, Wars undertaken for *the Support of the Religion*, *i. e.* Mahometan.

142. *Truth* is the Conformity of *Speech*, to the End for which God ordained it.

143. A *Lye* is perverting Language from the End for which God ordained it.

144. Adversity makes no Impression upon a brave Soul.

145. Trust in God, is a Castle of Defence to him that fieth to it.

146. *Impatience* under *Affliction* is worse than the *Affliction*.

147. That Man hath a brave Soul, who declineth from Things unlawful, and keepeth at a Distance from what is criminal.

148. Covetousness is the Head of Poverty, and the Foundation of Wickedness.

149. A *Deceiver's* Tongue is *sweet*, and his Heart *bitter*.

150. Perfection consists in *Three Things*; *Patience* in *Afflictions*; *Moderation* in our *Pursuits*; and Assisting him that Asketh.

151. A *Wise Man* knoweth a *Fool*, because he hath formerly been ignorant himself: but a *Fool* doth not know a *Wise Man*, because he never was wise himself.

152. The *Believer* is always cautious of his Sins: He dreads *Temptation*, and hopes for the Mercy of his Lord.

153. The *Faith* (i. e. *Religion*) is a *Tree*, the *Root* of which is *firm Assurance*; the *Branch*,
the

the Fear of God; the *Flower*, ⁷ *Modesty*; and the *Fruit*, *Generosity of Spirit*.

154. *Anger* is a Fire kindled: He that restraineth it, putteth it out; but he that letteth it loose, is the first that is consumed by it.

155. *Folly* is an incurable Disease.

156. They who are *Friends* in the *Most High God*, their Love remaineth as long as the Cause of it: But as for the Friends of this Present World, their Love is broken off as soon as the Causes of it cease.

157. A *Fool* doth not know what maketh him look little; neither will he hearken to him that adviseth him.

158. *Riches*, without *God*, are the greatest *Poverty* and *Misery*.

159. *Liberality* and *Fortitude* are *Noble things*; which God, whose Name be praised, giveth to him whom he loveth and maketh Tryal of.

160. That Man travels the longest Journey, that undertakes it in the search of a sincere Friend.

161. He is the greatest of all *Fools*, that doth no Good, and would yet be respected; and doth that which is Evil, and yet expecteth the Reward of the Good.

⁷ *Modesty* is not here to be understood in Opposition to *Unchastity*; but as it signifieth all *Decent Behaviour*.

162. The

162. The most odious of Men to the *Most High God*, is he whose Thoughts are fixed upon his Belly and his Lust.

163. The most Happy Man, as to this Life, is he to whom God Most High hath given wherewithal to be Content, and a good Wife.

164. He is the most Just Man, that doth Justice upon himself, without any one else to judge him.

165. That Man best deserveth a Kindness, who when he is put off, beareth it patiently; when he is refused, excuseth it; and when he receiveth it, is thankful.

166. The *Diligence* of the *World*, is *Idleness*; the *Honour* of it, *Vileness*; the Height of it Lowness.

167. He that walketh upon the * Back of the Earth, is going into its Belly.

168. A Believer should be ashamed, when any Action passeth him which his Religion doth not oblige him to do.

169. Justice is the *Ballance* of God, which he hath set for *Men*; wherefore do not contradict him in his *Balance*, nor oppose him in his *Dominion*.

* By the *Back of the Earth*, he means the *Outside*; by the *Belly*, the *Grave*.

End of the Sentences.

An Account of the A U T H O R S.

*Abu Abdollah Mohammed Ben Amer
Ebn Waked Alwákidi.*

HE is a Celebrated Author amongst the *Arabians*, and quoted as Authentick by the Authors that succeed him. My Anonymous Author that I found amongst Dr. *Huntington's* Manuscripts, (*Num.* 495.) speaking concerning one *Caab* the Son of *Malek*, says, “ That *Ebn* “ *Alkulli* was mistaken when he said that he “ was present at the Battle of *Beder*, and that “ he died before the fortieth Year of the *Hegi-* “ *rab.* *Alwákidi* (saith he) *who knew better than* “ *he*, says that he died in the fiftieth Year.”

Again ; “ *Hosein*, the Son of *Ali*, took his “ Journey from *Meccah* towards *Irak* with his “ Friends and Relations ; and was killed on the “ tenth Day of *Moharram* in this Year Sixty “ One, for certain : As is confirmed by *Alwá-* “ *kidi* and others. Some think he was killed in “ *Saphar* of the same Year ; but the first Ac- “ count is the right.” ¹ He wrote a Book which he calls *Arríddab*, wherein he gives an Account of the *Apostasy* of the *Arabians* from *Mahome-*

¹ *Ebn Calechan.*

tanism after *Mahomet's* Decease ; and the Wars between *Mahomet's* Companions and *Tuleiba* the Son of *Choweiled* ; and *Alaswad Alabbàsi*, and *Moseilamah* the False Prophet. He was a great *Imàm* or Doctor of the *Mahometan* Law ; and a *Cadi* or Judge of *Bagdàd*. He wrote the Conquest of *Syria*. The Conquest of *Diarbeck*. He was a great Favourite of that Learned Emperor *Almamouin*. He was born in the Beginning of the ⁶ One Hundred and Thirty First Year of the *Hegirah*, and died on the Eleventh of the Month *Du'lhagiab*, in the Year of the *Hegirah* ⁷ Two Hundred and Seven. Being then a *Cadi* in *Bagdàd*. In the *West* part of the Town. Though some say in the *East*. Aged Seventy four Lunar Years.

⁸ *Abu Jaasar Mohammed Ben Jarir, Ebn Caled Altàbari.*

THE most Celebrated and Authentick Ancient Historian amongst the *Arabians*. He was a great *Imàm*, or Doctor, in several Capacities ; as *History*, *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Law*. *Traditions of the Sayings or Faëts of MAHOMET*, (called by the *Arabians* *Hadith*;) and in the Exposition of the *Alcoran*. He wrote several good Books in different Sciences ; all

⁶ Which began Aug. 30. Anno Christi 748. ⁷ Which began May 26. Anno Christi 822. ⁸ *Ebn Calecan.*

which shewed the Extent of his Knowledge, and his Great Excellency. He was born in the ¹ Two Hundred and Twenty Fourth Year of the *Hegirah* and died at *Bagdàd* on the twenty fifth Day of the Month *Shewàl* in the Year ² Three Hundred and Ten. Aged Eighty Four Years.

³ *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ib'n Abil Carem, Mohammed, Ebn Mohammed, Ebn Abdo'l Walid, Afsheibani*, commonly known by the Name of *Ebno'l Athir Aljázari*, surnamed *Ezzoddin*.

HE was born in *Aljazirah*, and brought up there: from whence he removed into *Mausal*, with his Father and his two Brethren (who were both very great Men) where he was an Auditor of *Abu Fadl*; *Abdollah the Son of Ahmed*; *The Thúsian Orator*, and several others, of the same Profession. He went several Times to *Bagdàd*, both as a Traveller and as an Ambassador from the Lord of *Mausal*, where he was an Auditor of two famous *Sheiks*, besides several others. From thence he removed into *Syria* and the *Holy Land*, where he was an Auditor of several Persons of Note. From thence he returned back to *Mausal*, where he lived a retired

¹ Which began Nov. 2. Anno Christi 838. ² Which began April 30. A. C. 922. ³ *Ebn Calchan*.

Life, shut up at home; applying himself to Learning, and writing Books. His House was the Place to which all the Learned Men in *Mausal* were wont to resort. He was excellently skilled in the ³ Knowledge of the Traditions relating to *Mahomet's* Person, and those Doctrines or Practices that are founded upon them; and thoroughly versed both in Ancient and Modern History. He understood perfectly the Ancient Tribes of the *Arabians*; their Descents and Families, and the several Occurrences amongst them. He wrote a Book intitled ⁴ *Alcamil*, which he begins with the Creation, and brings down to the ⁵ Six Hundred and Twenty Eighth Year of the *Hegirah*: It is one of the best of Histories. He wrote also the History of the *Companions of Mahomet* in six large Volumes. He Epitomized *Kitàb Alinsàn* (*the Book of Man*) of *Abu Said's*, and hath corrected a great many of his Mistakes. That is a very useful Book. This Epitome is most frequently in use, and consists of three Volumes. The Book it self is in Eight, and is very hard to be found. I never saw it but once at *Aleppo*, and in *Ægypt* there is nothing of it but this *Epitome*.

³ Which particular Knowledge, as we have before observed, is called by the Arabians *Alhadiith*. ⁴ *i. e.* The Universal [*History*,] the same that we have made use of, and always quoted under the Title either of *Ebno'l Athir*, or *Alcámil*. ⁵ *Cœpit Nov. 8. A. C. 1230.*

When I came to *Aleppo* in the latter end of the ¹ Six Hundred and Twenty Sixth Year, this same *Ezzoddin* was there as a Guest with *Atthawashi Shebahoddin Togorbel Alchadim Atábek Almélík Alaxiz Ebn Almelik Attabir* Lord of *Aleppo*; and I found him a Person of extraordinary Merit; abounding with great Perfections, of a generous Temper and great Humility; and I used to visit him frequently; and there was the strictest Friendship between him and *Alwaled*, (upon whom God have Mercy.) Then he travelled to *Damascus* about the Middle of the ² Six Hundred and Twenty Seventh Year, and about the Middle of the ³ Six Hundred and Twenty Eighth Year he returned to *Aleppo*; where I renewed my Acquaintance with him. He did not stay there long before he removed to *Mausal*. He was born on the fourth of the first *Jomáda* in the Year ⁴ Five Hundred and Fifty Five. In a Place called *the Island of the Children of Amer*. And he died in the Month *Shaaban*, in the Year ⁵ Six Hundred and Thirty, in *Mausal*.

¹ Cœpit Nov. 25. A. C. 1228. ² Cœpit Nov. 19. A. C. 1229. ³ Cœpit Nov. 8. A. C. 1230. ⁴ Cœpit Jan. 11. A. C. 1160. ⁵ Cœpit Oct. 17. A. C. 1232.

Abu'lpbeda; His whole Title is, *Ismael Ben Ali, Ben Mehmoud, Ben Mohammed; Ben Amer, Shahinshah, Ben Iyub.*

IN the Title-Page of my Manuscript is written thus. " This Book is collected from several Histories; the first is the Book called "*Alcâmil*; ³ *Kitab Kâdi Shemsoddin Kitâb Almodhafferi. Taârich Abi'l Isa. Tejarobi'l Omami. Kitab Alyemen. Kitab Alkebruwân. Kitâb aldôwali. Kitab Ali Ben Musa. Kitâb Mufârribh alkorûb. Kitâb Hâmzah. Kitâb Hallât. Kitâb Sepher Kûdâti Beni Israël.*" This last is the Book of the Judges of the Children of *Israel*, which, (so great was the Diligence and Exactness of that Learned Prince;) that because he did not understand *Hebrew* himself, he procured a Person skilled both in *Hebrew* and *Arabick* to read it to him.

⁴ He is called Sultan, King and Prince of *Hamah* in *Syria*, where he reigned after his Brother *Abmed*, surnamed *Almâlek-al Nasser*, who was deposed in the Year of the *Hegirah* ⁵ Seven Hundred and Forty Three. As soon as *Abu'lpbeda* began to reign, he took the Title of *Almâlec Alsâlehh*, but he did not enjoy this Digni-

³ N. B. *Kitâb* signifies a Book: *Taârich*, an History.

⁴ D'Herbelot, in Voce *Abou'lpbeda*. ⁵ Cœpit Jun. 5. A.C.

ty above the Space of three Years. Some Historians say, that he was born in the ⁶ Six Hundred and Seventy Second Year of the *Hegirah*, and that he died in the Year ⁷ Seven Hundred and Thirty Two. He is the Author of two Considerable Works; the first is intitl'd *Tekwim alboldàn*; it is a Geography disposed by Tables according to the Order of the Climates with the Degrees of Longitude and Latitude of every Place; there are also some Notes, but they are not always correct. ⁸ The second is the Abridgment of Universal History to his own time, and bears this Title *Almokhtasser fi akbâr albasbar*. We find *Abu'lpheda's* Encomium in the Divan of *Ebn Notabah* intitl'd *Soukalrefik*.

Monsieur D'Herbelot.

A Learned *French-man*. One of the Greatest *Orientalists* that ever *Europe* bred. He, with incredible Application, read over not only all the *Arabick*, *Persian* and *Turkish* Books in the *French King's* Library, and that of *Florence*, but several others that he had purchased for his own use. He made a compleat *Turkish* and *Persian* Dictionary in three large Volumes in *Folio*, never yet published. His Famous *Biblio-*

⁶ Cœpit Jul. 17. A. C. 1273. ⁷ Cœpit Oct. 5. 1331.

⁸ That is the same which we have made use of in this History.

theque Orientale, containing a prodigious Treasure of whatsoever is curious or valuable in the *Eastern Authors*, was published after his Decease in the Year One Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety Seven. It is common in the Hands of the Learned, and therefore I forbear saying any more concerning it.

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